Archiving the Referendum: BBC Scotland's Television Archive and the 2014 Scottish Independence Referendum

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Thesis Abstract

This thesis contends that BBC Scotland's television archive, and the material it contains, is a site of power, carrying the potential to embed specific narratives about the past into the public consciousness. Using the contents of the archive pertaining to the 2012-2014 Scottish independence referendum campaign as a case study, the research herein asks 'how is BBC Scotland's television archive used to construct specific narratives about the past and what impact might this have on cultural memory of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum?' Focusing on production processes and archival practices at BBC Scotland relating to archive programmes made about the 2014 referendum, this thesis traces the journey made by BBC Scotland television archive material from programme to archive shelf and onwards to new programmes, exploring the role that choice and context of archive material, as well as constraints on access and availability, play in shaping the narrative about the past presented on screen. Research methods include textual analysis, interviews with key BBC production personnel and members of the Archive Department at BBC Scotland, as well as analysis of my own working practices and experiences as an archive producer working for BBC Scotland during the referendum campaign.

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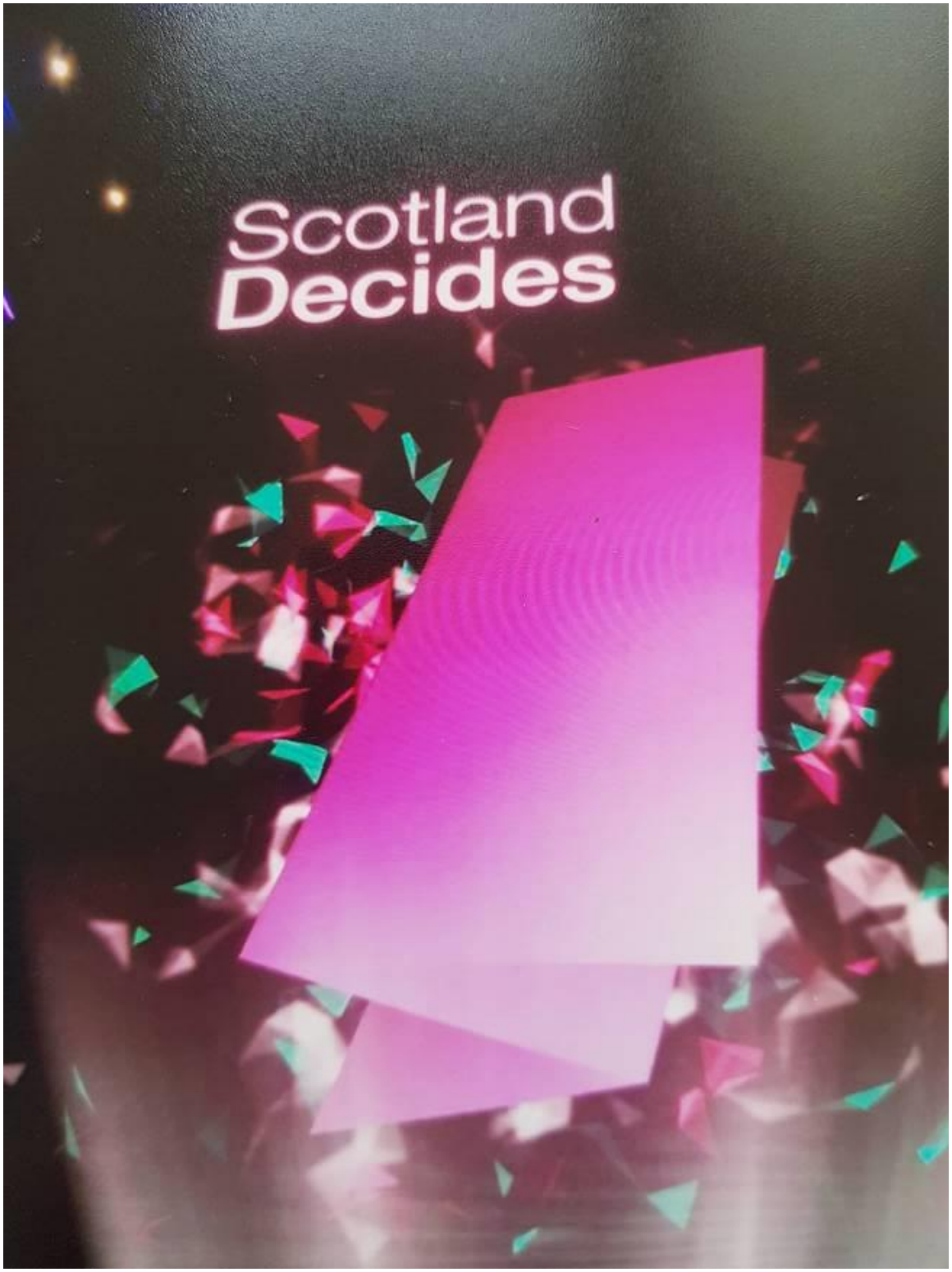
Tha gaol agam ort.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Printed Name: Mhairi Brennan

Signature: _____



'Scotland Decides' graphic from live results show broadcast on BBC Scotland 18th -19th September 2014 (personal photograph)

Extract from BBC Royal Charter Agreement, 2016:43

69. Archive

(1) The BBC must make arrangements for the maintenance of an archive, or archives, of films, sound recordings, other recorded material and printed material which is representative of the sound and television programmes and films broadcast or otherwise distributed by the BBC.

(2) Those arrangements- (a) must ensure that every such archive is kept safely, to commonly accepted standards; and (b) must give the public reasonable opportunities to visit the archives and view or listen to material kept there, with or without charge (as the BBC thinks fit).

(3) In making those arrangements, the BBC must consult such bodies as are engaged in maintaining sound, television and film archives as it considers appropriate which are not established or conducted for profit.

(4) The BBC must not destroy, sell or otherwise dispose of any material that it has broadcast or otherwise distributed which it decides not to preserve in any archive without first offering that material, free of charge, to such bodies as are engaged in maintaining sound, television and film archives as it considers appropriate.

(5) Where the BBC's offer is accepted by any body or bodies, the BBC must transfer the material to that body or those bodies.

Introduction

This thesis contends that BBC Scotland's television archive, and the material it contains, is a site of power, carrying the potential to embed specific narratives about the past into public consciousness.

Archiving the referendum: key research questions.

Using the contents of BBC Scotland's television archive pertaining to the 2014 Scottish independence referendum campaign as a case study, the research herein asks 'how is BBC Scotland's television archive used to construct specific narratives about the past and what impact might this have on cultural memory of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum?' Focusing on production processes and archival practices at BBC Scotland relating to archive programmes made by the broadcaster about the 2014 referendum, this thesis traces the journey made by BBC Scotland television archive material from programme to archive shelf and onwards to new programmes, exploring the role that choice and context of archive material, as well as constraints on access and availability, play in shaping the narrative about the past presented on screen. In order to examine this question in depth it is subdivided into three supplementary questions:

1. *How is BBC Scotland's television archive material used to construct a narrative about the past?* Through an analysis of the television archive material in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* (BBC2 Scotland, 2014) - BBC Scotland's account of events leading up to the 2014 referendum - I consider the ways in which that material shapes the narrative of the

programme, which in turn has the potential to shape public understanding of past events.

2. *What shaped the decision-making process when choosing archive material for a programme made by BBC Scotland about the referendum campaign?* Using interviews with practitioners involved in making *How The Campaign Was Won* (BBC1 Scotland, 2014) - BBC Scotland's documentary about the final year of the referendum campaign - I examine the impact of production processes, editorial guidelines, and material constraints on the selection of television archive material in the programme and consider how this impacted on the version of the past presented on screen.
3. *How is BBC Scotland television material of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum campaign archived and who gets to see or use it?* Using interviews with archive managers at BBC Scotland I investigate how the broadcaster stores and catalogues television material pertaining to the Scottish referendum and how it is intended to be made available to future programme makers. I also consider how factors such as copyright restrictions, availability, and storage platforms can have an impact on the preservation and re-presentation of archive material, and how this has the potential to influence the narrative of future programmes about the referendum.

Research methods include textual analysis of *Scotland's Smoking Gun,* interviews with the key BBC personnel involved in the production of *How the Campaign Was Won,* interviews with members of the Archive Department at BBC Scotland, and analysis of my own working practices as an archive producer at BBC Scotland.

Methodology and critical reflection.

In a blog post for the *Critical Studies in Television* website Helen Wheatley asks, 'what do we make of the television archive?' (2020). There are three 'we's in the question; programme-makers, television historians, and the public. However, a problem facing both television historians and the public is access to the television archive. Jamie Medhurst's claim that access to visual materials 'can be difficult, if not impossible, in some instances' (2007:135) for historians of the BBC, is especially the case with its television archive. Section 69 (2) (b) of the BBC Charter states that the broadcaster 'must give the public reasonable opportunities to visit the archives and view or listen to material kept there, with or without charge as the BBC thinks fit' (2016:43). However, the footage held in BBC vaults and servers around the UK, capturing over 70 years of public life, is not directly accessible to members of the public. The principle method by which the public and historians get to view the material is via the mediation of the BBC itself, in archive programmes, or on its websites. Commissioners, programme-makers, and archivists within the institution manage access to the footage and decide how, when, and in what context it will be shown. Thus, the BBC orchestrates its own historiography and that of the nation it records and broadcasts to.

While there is scope for an entire thesis on how and why the BBC should open up its archives to the public and to the academy, the research in this thesis concentrates on how clause 69 (2) is actioned in terms of the use and preservation of television archive at BBC Scotland. By examining in detail what BBC Scotland programme makers and archivists 'make of' its television archive, exploring how remediation and preservation of the contents of the archive impacts on public understanding of the past, this thesis considers the

ramifications of a public service broadcaster mediating access to a publicly owned archive which the public do not have direct access to. My decision to take this approach to BBC Scotland's television archive was influenced by my own professional experience of accessing the archive. My work as an archive producer has granted me privileged access to BBC television archive material unavailable to the public, making me aware of the unique and powerful position that those who do have access to the archives have in terms of creating a narrative about the nation's past. This thesis presents an insight into the workings of a section of the BBC rarely accessible to television historians and the public.

The journey that television archive material makes physically and conceptually as it travels from archive to programme and back again is tracked in three ways within this thesis; firstly through a close textual analysis of *Scotland's Smoking Gun* (BBC2 Scotland, 2014), exploring the ways in which BBC Scotland television archive material plays a pivotal role in constructing a narrative about the past within the programme; secondly with an interview-based production study of *How the Campaign Was Won* (BBC1 Scotland, 2014), investigating the production practices, material constraints, and institutional conventions that affected the decision-making process for the programme-makers when choosing television archive material for the programme; and finally, an interview-based study of the work of the Archive Department at BBC Scotland, investigating the archival practices involved in facilitating access to, and preservation of, BBC Scotland's television archive.

Although Horace Newcomb and Paul M Hirsch argue that 'it is television as a whole system that presents a mass audience with the range and variety of ideas and ideologies' (1983:566) in culture, I decided to focus on *Scotland's Smoking Gun* and *How the Campaign Was Won*, rather than examine the entirety of BBC Scotland's coverage of the referendum campaign, because I believe these

two programmes fit Dagmar Brunow's assessment of archival films as epistemological tools which can tell us much about the institutional, political and societal environment they were created in (2017:5*)*. Complimenting each other formally and conceptually, they are both one-hour documentaries about Scotland's journey to the polls in 2014 and are composed almost entirely from BBC Scotland television archive material. *Scotland's Smoking Gun* was the first in a series of thirteen documentaries about the referendum broadcast by BBC Scotland's Referendum Unit in 2014[1]. It sets out a timeline of events in Scottish history leading up to the independence referendum, while *How the Campaign Was Won* - the last programme broadcast by the Referendum Unit - sets out an overview of the two year campaign and the final results. These two programmes can be seen as the opening and closing chapters of the Referendum Unit's output – the introduction and conclusion to BBC Scotland's thesis about the campaign –and it is significant that they are constituted almost entirely from BBC Scotland television archive. In this thesis I approach them as data sets from which information can be extrapolated about how television archive is used to construct a narrative about the past on screen, what impact this has on public understanding of the past, what financial and institutional factors influence the choice of archive material, and the ramifications of a public broadcaster using its own material to create a narrative about the past in which it played a central role.

In order to examine production and archival practices at BBC Scotland in detail– and to gain perspective outside of my own experience of working with television archive material - between 2016 and 2018 I carried out audio-recorded interviews with key production personnel and members of the archive department at BBC Scotland, as well as freelance editors and directors. The

[1] I will describe the organisation and output of the Referendum Unit in more detail in chapter 2.

interviewees were the Head of the Archive Department and two members of her team at BBC Scotland, as well as the director and the editor of *How the Campaign Was Won*. I also interviewed the director and the editor of *Road to Referendum* (STV, 2013), and the director of *From Scotland with Love* (BBC/Creative Scotland, 2014). As these two archive-based programmes made outside of the BBC also focus on Scottish history and Scotland's journey to referendum, I was interested to see if there were points of comparison with *Scotland's Smoking Gun* and *How the Campaign Was Won* in terms of production practices and archive choices[2]. In 2018, as part of a three-month internship with BBC Scotland, created in partnership with the Scottish Graduate School of Arts and Humanities, I audio-recorded an interview with a freelance archive producer who had worked for the broadcaster and for independent companies. She agreed to allow extracts from her interview, pertaining to problems she had encountered with accessing BBC television archive, to be used within this thesis. I was also keen to include interviews with BBC Scotland's News Department in my study, to explore the planning and production of news output during the referendum. Ian Small, Head of Policy at BBC Scotland, was happy to facilitate this and made several requests to the Head of News to grant access. However, the Head of News ignored all emails from Small and myself, and I decided not to pursue the matter any further.

Interviews with members of the BBC Scotland Archive Department and the director and editor of *How the Campaign Was Won* were arranged with the approval and help of Ian Small, while I approached the other interviewees

[2] In chapters 3 and 4 I consider how archival choices create visual templates which move between *Road to Referendum, Scotland's Smoking Gun, How the Campaign Was Won* and *Yes/No: Inside Indyref* (BBC Scotland 2019). I also consider how differing budgets and schedules for these programmes impact on the choice of archive material on screen. *Yes/No: Inside Indyref* was broadcast in the writing-up stage of my thesis so I was unable to conduct audio recorded interviews, but accessed information via email requests to the editor and archive producer of the programme.

individually. All the contributors were initially given a synopsis of my research questions as well as an overview of the areas I would be asking about. Upon agreement to be interviewed, I sent a list of set questions to each interviewee and asked supplementary questions as the interview progressed. The set questions for the production interviewees asked them to describe the development, production, and editing process, while the Archive Department were asked for information about archival systems, and preservation and access practices. I was required to gain approval from the University of Glasgow Ethics Committee before carrying out the interviews, and one of the requirements for approval was to give contributors the opportunity to remain anonymous (even though for some contributors this is complicated as their names appear on programme credits). I was also required by the Ethics Committee to send transcripts of interviews to the relevant contributors for their approval, and to implement any amendments to the transcripts required by the contributors. It is worth noting that the interviews with members of the Archive Department and the director of *How the Campaign Was Won* were carried out at Pacific Quay, BBC Scotland's headquarters in Glasgow. The two members of the archive team were interviewed (together and separately) in a soundproofed, glass-walled meeting room, while interviews with the Head of the Archive Department and the director of *How the Campaign Was Won* were carried out (separately) on The Street, a communal walkway and meeting area on the third floor of Pacific Quay.[3] This meant there was a potential infringement of privacy as colleagues were able to walk past the interviews on The Street or glance in at the meeting rooms. It is difficult to assess whether being so aware of their surroundings would have affected how the interviewees answered questions, but it is

[3] Contributors interviewed at Pacific Quay chose to be interviewed in the building during working hours.

certainly worth noting that they were discussing working practices – and problems with those practices- at their place of work.

It should also be noted that my work as an archive producer meant that several of the interviewees already knew me in a professional capacity; I was the archive producer on *How the Campaign Was Wo*n, and had worked with the editor and director of *Road to Referendum* on other projects. I also had a professional relationship with BBC Scotland's Archive Department as an archive producer. This foregrounds my dual position as a practitioner and an academic, or, in other words, an 'insider' and an 'outsider'. It is a situation which influenced my decision to include in my research my own experience as a practitioner, rather than to set up a specific observational study as an academic. While Georgina Born (2005) and Philip Schlesinger's ([1978]1992) field studies of BBC drama teams and news rooms show that ethnographical studies can have powerful results, I felt that carrying out observational research as an academic in my ex-workplace could potentially be problematic for the precarious balancing act required to maintain good relationships with the contributors to this thesis, who had agreed to take part in my academic research because they trusted me as a professional. This was evidenced during my SGSAH internship with BBC Scotland in 2018. Most of the Pacific Quay building is open-plan, and I was given a desk in the Archive Department. I could see and hear staff's work cases and conversations, and they could see my work and viewing choices, which caused unease amongst some members of the department. I had not experienced this to be the case when working in the same open-plan set-up as an archive producer. This situation, along with the lack of response from BBC Scotland's News Department to my request for an interview highlighted how much my thesis depended on the goodwill and trust of contributors. However, while professional trust certainly helped with access to contributors, it perhaps

also afforded me less freedom to be critical of working practices than established academics such as Born.

Working on the referendum

The research questions explored in this thesis germinated while I was working as an archive producer at BBC Scotland during the Scottish independence referendum campaign, which ran from 2012 to 2014. The referendum has been described as a watershed in Scottish legal, political, economic, and cultural history (McHarg, Mullen, Page & Walker, 2016). On Thursday 18th September 2014, the Scottish electorate were asked to vote on Scotland's future relationship with the UK. The question on the ballot paper was, 'should Scotland be an independent country?' 55% of the voters answered 'No'; however, the ongoing discourse surrounding the referendum indicates the event's ongoing potential to shape Scottish politics and concepts of national identity, as evidenced in the renewed debate about Scottish independence resulting from negotiations over Brexit, the UK's withdrawal from the European Union following a referendum on the matter in 2016.

From September 2013 until October 2014 I was the archive producer in BBC Scotland's Referendum Unit. This was a department established in 2013 at Pacific Quay, with a remit to make documentaries about the campaign. Whilst working in the Referendum Unit, my desk and viewing station were actually and figuratively at the centre of production. I was surrounded by news journalists, programme-makers and commissioning editors, developing and making news bulletins, documentaries, and debate programmes that were then being digitised immediately into BBC Scotland's archive. My experience of the commissioning process at the Referendum Unit was that programme makers responded to

events as they occurred throughout the campaign, with commissioning happening throughout the unit's two-year existence. Conversations about programmes were held at desks, in meetings, and over email. Similarly, decisions about programme content and narrative were made in edit rooms, when programmes were put together based on the directors' individual tastes, whilst being mindful of BBC editorial guidelines. During my time at the Referendum Unit, I was part of the commissioning and production process, and in a position to view material that the general public might never see; rushes, outtakes, news fills, establishing shots for documentaries, that never made the final cut of broadcast programmes and might never be used again but nonetheless sit in the archive.

However, working on my own to source the archive material required for most of the documentaries made by the Referendum Unit, I found myself under pressure to find enough material for each programme whilst working within the constraints of tight production schedules and small budgets. The critical nature of this situation was brought home to me by a growing awareness within my professional capacity of the integral role television archive material played in creating programme narratives. Stuart Hall notes that television 'always manipulates its raw material' (1976:274), and warns that, 'the images we see are constructions of our representations of 'the actual', not reality itself' (ibid). Or, as Craig Williams (the director of *How the Campaign Was Won*) stated in interview for this thesis, "you're always scripting to pictures". Colin McArthur has written about the dangers of scripting to the picture and prioritising the image on television, referring to the practice as the 'tyranny of the moving image' (1980:14). According to McArthur there is a real danger that 'the existence or non-existence of a piece of film may determine whether or not a

particular historical point will be made' (ibid) and I had first-hand experience of this situation during my time at the Referendum Unit. Schedule and budget pressures meant that I ran the risk of making a mistake with the archive material, such as using the wrong clip or format. In order to minimise risk, I relied on footage which had already been used in other programmes and was easy to access on BBC Scotland's in-house on-demand digital archive, the Digital Library. This in turn engendered the potential to create a homogenous narrative about the past.

I was made aware of the potentially damaging impact of scripting to the picture when I watched the first transmission of *Scotland's Smoking Gun* broadcast on television and realised that the programme contained a mistake; a television archive clip in the wrong format. The illustration on this page shows the erroneous archive clip; a shot of Kate Adie reporting from the UK Houses of Parliament in 1979. In the top left-hand corner can be seen a BBC Parliament logo, which indicates that the clip was taken from an off-air broadcast of a programme shown on the BBC Parliament digital channel, rather than from the original news report in 1979[4].

According to the terms set out in section 69 (1) of the Royal Charter Agreement, the BBC must maintain an archive 'which is representative of the sound and television programmes and films broadcast or otherwise distributed by

[4] I will go into more detail about how and why this mistake happened in chapter 4.

the BBC' (2016:4). BBC Scotland management interpret this to mean that everything broadcast by BBC Scotland must be stored in its archive[5]. Therefore, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* now sits in BBC Scotland's archive, meaning there is the potential for the erroneous shot to travel into other programmes, embedding the mistake in the archive and the public consciousness. While this mistake did not have a major impact on the version of the past presented in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, it highlights the impact constraints on budgeting, scheduling and staffing can have on the version of the past presented on screen and thus on our understanding of the past.

This matters in relation to the 2014 Scottish independence referendum because, as Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone note, 'our understanding of the past has strategic, political, and ethical consequences (2006:1). The referendum was a seismic moment in Scottish history and politics, the repercussions of which are still being felt today, and it is likely that the footage covering the event held in BBC Scotland's television archive will be revisited by programme-makers for years to come. Indeed, the three-part documentary series *Yes/No: Inside the Indyref* (BBC Scotland Channel, 2019) which looks back at the two-year campaign, makes use of some of the same television archive material as *How the Campaign Was Won*. Moreover, the BBC Scotland digital channel launched in February 2019 relies on BBC archive for 50% of its output (Ofcom, 2018:4), and has only limited budgets for new programmes, meaning there is the potential for referendum footage to be reused in a variety of contexts.

[5]This interpretation given by Vicky Plaine, Head of BBC Scotland Archive, in interview.

Reporting the referendum: BBC Scotland's coverage of the 2014 referendum

BBC Scotland played a central role in reporting the referendum campaign. Although social and digital media were important platforms during the campaign, particularly for groups which held an opposing view to the mainstream media, according to research carried out for the Economic and Social Research Council (Dekavalla, 2015:3) it was television that provided the major source of information for the electorate in the form of news bulletins and current affairs programmes. Further, according to the BBC Annual Report 2014/15, it was primarily BBC Scotland that Scottish audiences tuned in to (BBC, 2015). BBC Scotland's own Management Review for 2014/15 reports that BBC Scotland broadcast 'more than 25 televised Referendum themed debates and documentaries on BBC One Scotland, BBC Two Scotland, BBC Alba and the BBC's network services' (BBC Scotland, 2015:4). Although all the major terrestrial, digital, and satellite broadcasters in the UK (and across the world) covered the independence referendum, it was the early evening edition of BBC Scotland's news programme, *Reporting Scotland,* which was the most watched daily news programme in Scotland with audience numbers averaging around 500,000 per episode according to BBC Scotland's Management Review (ibid). Similarly, BBC Scotland's *Leaders' Debate* (BBC1 Scotland, 2014), broadcast live from Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow on 25th August 2014, was watched by 860,000 viewers in Scotland, beating the ratings for the leaders' debate broadcast by STV, its competitor, earlier that month (ibid). Indeed, the importance of this event and its mediated representation is evidenced by the fact that the BBC Annual Report 2014/15 states that BBC Scotland's leaders' debate 'was the most watched political debate ever in Scotland' (BBC, 2015:52).

However, BBC Scotland occupied a contentious position within the campaign, with accusations of pro-union bias levelled at the broadcaster by pro-independence activists. Particular attention was given to *Reporting Scotland*, which pro-independence campaigners accused of bias in its reporting of the campaign, culminating in organised protests outside Pacific Quay during the final months of the campaign[6]. The tension between the broadcaster and a section of its audience was illustrated in *The Herald*'s review of *How the Campaign Was Won*, in which the (anonymous) reviewer took exception to the title, claiming:

> Almost 45% of Scotland don't consider the indyref campaign to have been 'won' at all. Some see it as 'lost' and some see it as stamped down by fear. There are even some nutters who see it as 'fixed'. But the BBC sees it as 'won' and the use of that jubilant word immediately sets out to aggravate (TV Review, 2014)[7]

BBC Scotland's referendum footage remains contested after the event; for instance, in August 2018 pro-independence campaigners gathered outside Pacific Quay to protest against the broadcaster's coverage of the referendum[8]. As such, these protests lend weight to the assertion of Hodgkin and Radstone that 'contests over the meaning of the past are also contests over the meaning of the present and over ways of taking the past forward' (2006:1). The contested nature of the BBC's role in this process and the programmes themselves foregrounds the need to assess the referendum footage which now sits in BBC Scotland's television archive, ready to be re-used in future programmes about the campaign seeking to make sense of the past.

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[6] 'Protestors gather outside BBC Scotland' 14/09/14 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-29196912

[7] Review of *How the Campaign Was Won* https://www.heraldscotland.com/arts_ents/13182740.tv-review-how-the-campaign-was-won/

[8] 'Crowd protests in Glasgow against BBC bias' 11/08/18 https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-45156289

BBC Scotland's television archive

Based in BBC Scotland's headquarters in Pacific Quay, Glasgow, the television archive houses almost 70 years' worth of BBC Scotland's coverage of Scottish politics and culture. Its holdings include news bulletins, outside broadcasts, dramas, comedies, documentaries, music performances, coverage of cultural and sporting events, and, with the development of web broadcasting, footage filmed for content on the broadcaster's web pages and social media sites such as *The Social*.[9] It is a unique heritage archive housing increasingly fragile formats[10] which capture the minutiae of Scottish life as well as the milestone events. It is also an extremely busy production library, supplying content for BBC news bulletins, documentaries, and other programmes on a daily basis.

During the referendum campaign BBC Scotland's Archive Department played a crucial role in preserving and facilitating access to the additional television programming created around the campaign, including news bulletins, documentaries, and live debates. Indeed, an archive manager interviewed for this thesis described their job as "being at the coal face", as they worked "minute by minute" to catalogue and digitally archive referendum footage whilst simultaneously facilitating instant access to that material for programme makers already looking to re-use clips in news bulletins and programmes such as *How the Campaign Was Won*. My work as the Referendum Unit television archivist, and subsequent research, has allowed me to see how the work of Archive Department staff played a crucial role in the construction of the narratives about the referendum presented on screen as they were 'the principal actor(s) in defining, choosing and constructing' the archive (Cook 2011:614). While commissioners and programme-makers within BBC Scotland decide how, when,

[9] BBC Scotland *The Social* webpage https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p039wndg
[10] Formats include 16mm stock, D3 tapes, Beta tapes, HD tapes and sound stock.

and in what context television archive material will be shown on screen, it is the Archive Department staff who facilitate the preservation of, and access to, that material. This is important because, as I demonstrate throughout the thesis, access to television archive material played a pivotal role in the construction of the narrative about the referendum presented on screen in the programmes under investigation.

It is important to make a note here about my use of the term 'television archive material' throughout this thesis. I use the term to mean the television footage (including news bulletins, dramas, comedies, sport and entertainment programmes) shot for or by BBC Scotland to be shown on television, currently held in BBC Scotland's archive in the Pacific Quay building in Glasgow. Although the archive's holdings include all of the broadcaster's existing radio output and recordings as well as some Programme as Completed forms and related paperwork (and there is much to be explored and studied within these elements of the archive) I decided early in my research that the scope of my study would only cover the television element of the archive. This is because I worked exclusively for BBC Scotland as an archive producer on a variety of television programmes from 2012 to 2014, and in that time I was asked to source substantially more television than radio archive. As a result, the focus of this thesis is on how the primacy of the image shapes narratives about the past and thus influences cultural memory.

Television archive and cultural memory: theoretical context.

Building on Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney's argument that memory is not just mediated, it is also re-mediated (2009), and with reference to their claim that 'all representations of the past draw on available media technologies, on existent media products, on patterns of representation and medial aesthetics'

(2009:4), my research indicates that the journey television archive material makes from programme to programme via the archive illustrates Gillian Branston's argument that 'over time, the most powerful versions of history are reconfirmed, they become sedimented down, pressed into new narratives and accounts' (1998:51). As is evident in my study, this works to 'solidify cultural memory, creating and stabilising certain narratives and icons of the past' (Erll 2008: 393). Branston contests that the sedimented narratives on screen 'shape the relationship of television's legislators, trainees, practitioners and historians in an imaginary past and even more speculative future' (1998:51). In response, I also consider the impact on cultural memory of BBC Scotland using its own television archive material to create programmes about the 2014 Scottish independence referendum.

The journey of the moving image frame from the archive shelf to the screen and back again also foregrounds the power of the archival institution and its role in historicising the past. As Foucault declared, 'the archive is the first law of what can be said, the system that governs the appearance of statements as unique events' ([1969]2008:145). In other words, whoever gets to speak about the past has access to power. Therefore, in this thesis I will investigate who gets to speak about the past by examining who has access to the material on the archive shelves, what gets chosen, and how it is used, the canonisation of certain images through selection, and the historization of the past through the construction of that canon, all of which foreground the power at play in the broadcaster's archive.

Approaching cultural memory as a constant reassessment of the past based on changing circumstances in the present flags up inherent problems with relying on memory to tell seemingly objective accounts of the past, as the

ongoing debate about the Scottish independence referendum highlights. We might turn to the past 'to assess where we stand in time' (Huyssen, 1995:1), but as Marita Sturken points out, 'the changeability of memory raises important concerns about how the past can be verified, understood and given meaning' (1997:2). Similarly, Hodgkin and Radstone remind us that 'both memory and truth are unstable and destabilising terms' (2006:2). Indeed, as Walter Benjamin (quoting Ranke) noted, 'to articulate the past historically does not mean to recognise it "the way it was"' ([1968]2019:198), indicating the power attached to discourses about the past and acknowledging that historicising the past is a subjective enterprise. Benjamin was challenging the notion that the past is passed, instead highlighting its malleability, a concept embraced by Hodgkin and Radstone, who argue that 'history and memory are not abstract forces: they are located in specific contexts, instances, and narratives, and decisions have always to be taken about what story is to be told' (2006:5).

Which story gets told about the past, how its narrative is constructed, and by whom, is of considerable importance to cultural memory because, according to Hodgkin and Radstone, 'the dominant versions of the past are inextricably entangled with relations of power in society' (2006:5). As Derrida claims, 'there is not political power without control of the archive, if not memory' (1998:4) and Joanne Garde-Hanson expands on this, arguing that cultural memory is co-opted and institutionalized by media institutions such as BBC Scotland, with the narratives about the past they create structuring 'how citizens participate, create and recreate a nation's past' (2011:53). Acknowledging the power of media institutions to manipulate our understanding of the past, Lynn Spigel claims that 'the creation of the television archive is deeply entwined in issues of institutional and state power' (2010:55). BBC Scotland's television archive is an

example of this concept; although paid for by public money via the television licence fee, its contents are only available to view by the public through the mediation of television programmes such as the archive-based documentaries made by the Referendum Unit during the Scottish independence referendum campaign. Recognising the power of media institutions to shape public understanding of the past, Garde-Hansen argues that this necessitates a critical examination of their role in 'the production and consumption of public and personal memories' (Garde-Hansen, 2011:50). This is certainly the case with BBC Scotland's television archive material relating to the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, because of the contested nature of the broadcaster's coverage of the event. It is this concern with how media institutions wield their power to shape public understanding of the nation's past that has influenced the content and structure of my thesis.

Thesis structure.

Studying BBC Scotland's television archive and the material it holds relating to the 2014 Scottish independence referendum offers the opportunity to engage with the fields of Memory Studies and Television Studies. Chapter one sets out the theoretical framework for this thesis, engaging with key concepts from Memory Studies and current scholarship on archival practices in order to consider how BBC Scotland's television archive operates as a site of power and a vital tool in the formation of cultural memory. This chapter also engages with critical thinking around history on television and historiography, reflecting on the potential cultural consequences of the BBC presenting narratives about the past constructed from its own television archive material.

Chapter two gives a brief history of the referendum campaign and BBC Scotland's coverage of the event. In this chapter I engage with James Mitchell's

concept of the Scottish Question, which he describes as being a question about how Scotland relates to the rest of the United Kingdom (2014), in order to consider the BBC's relationship with Scotland. Branston's concerns about the BBC's representation of national identity are also reflected on in this chapter. Her question about the BBC, 'whose national identity is presumed here?' (1998:57), is considered in the context of BBC Scotland's relationship with its viewers and with the BBC network during the referendum campaign.

In chapter three, referencing Pierre Nora's concept of archive as the scaffolding of memory (1989:13), I consider how television archive material in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* operates as the foundation and scaffolding for the onscreen narrative about Scotland's past presented in the programme. Drawing on the work of John Corner (2006) and Myra Macdonald (2006) regarding performance of the past onscreen I examine how archival aesthetics, soundtrack, and editing techniques are used not only to create a specific narrative about the past but to create a sense of 'pastness' intended to connect the viewer with the version of the past on screen.

Astrid Erll argues that remembering is an act of 'assembling available data that takes place in the present' (2011:8) and in chapter four I use this concept as an analogy for what happened in the edit room when *How the Campaign Was Won* was assembled from recycled television footage. As Jamie Baron notes, every single moment and every point of view from the past cannot be incorporated into a history programme as 'there are always too many documents and too many ways of reading them' (2014:3). However, Dagmar Brunow argues that 'what is not continuously remediated, will soon be forgotten' (2017:15). Decisions made by the programme-makers as to what to keep and what to discard in a programme thus influence what will become memorialised and

embedded in cultural memory. Using evidence gained from the director and the editor of *How the Campaign Was Won*, I explore the scripting, filming, and editing process, examining how subjectivity and institutional practices, as well as access to archive material impacted on what was chosen for inclusion in the narrative constructed about the referendum campaign within the programme.

Chapter five focuses on the organisational structure and management of BBC Scotland's television archive. In this chapter I develop Aleida Assmann's argument that without expert human intervention and interpretation, archives are only storehouses (2010). However, while Assmann claims that only historians and artists are capable of understanding and assigning meaning to the contents of the archive, as this 'would exceed the competence of the archivist' (2010:103), I argue that it is the archivists who hold the keys to the past, acting as record-keepers, detectives, curators and facilitators. Using evidence gained from interviews with the head of the Archive Department and members of the archive team at BBC Scotland, I examine the crucial role they played in preserving the broadcaster's footage of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum and in facilitating access for contemporary and future programme-makers.

Advancing the field

Although the 2014 referendum was a seismic event, and is likely to be revisited by historians, political analysts, and programme-makers for years to come, scholarship on it is still a nascent field. Research so far has primarily focused on the politics and historical context of the referendum (Adamson, K & Lynch, P (2014) and McHarg, Mullen, Page & Walker (2016)). Marina Dekavalla's statistical analysis of the television news coverage of the referendum in the final month of the campaign (2015) is the first major research project examining the role

played by public and commercial broadcasters in framing the campaign[11]. The aim of this thesis is to build on her scholarship, providing the first in-depth analysis of the contents of BBC Scotland's television archive relating to the campaign, foregrounding the pivotal role that television archive material plays in shaping narratives about the past onscreen, thus influencing cultural memory of the referendum.

The research within this thesis also reflects current concerns in scholarship on national archives and cultural memory. For example, Dagmar Brunow questions the power structures involved in the selection, preservation, and exhibition of material in film archives (2017), while Anu Koivunen's analysis of a Finnish television archive (2016) considers the connection between the archive, cultural memory, and national identity. My case study builds on the knowledge imparted by Brunow and Koivunen's scholarship by adding insight into the production and archival processes involved in making archive-based television programmes and the maintenance of a national television archive. My experience of working with BBC Scotland's television archive material during the independence referendum campaign, along with the interviews conducted for this thesis, has given me a unique perspective on the power of television archive material to shape narratives about the past onscreen, as well as an understanding of the complexities of production and archival practices within the BBC.

Conclusion

The legacy of BBC Scotland's coverage of the 2014 Scottish independence campaign is evident in its continued strained relationship with a sector of the Scottish public. While there has been academic engagement with the policies,

[11] I will discuss Dekavalla's scholarship in more detail in the next chapter.

politics and media framing of the campaign (Adamson and Lynch (2014), Dekavalla (2015), McHarg, Mullen, Page and Walker (2016)), there has been less academic research specifically into BBC Scotland's coverage of the campaign and how that material might be used in the future. Through an examination of archival aesthetics in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, production processes in *How the Campaign Was Won*, and the work of the Archive Department at BBC Scotland, this thesis explores the potential of television archive material to shape the narrative about the referendum presented on screen. It also examines the impact of production processes, editorial guidelines, and material constraints on the selection of television archive material, considering how these factors impact on the version of the past presented on screen.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

Theoretical framework

In order to understand why the television material held in BBC Scotland's archive has the potential to play such a crucial – and potentially problematic - role in forming private and public memories, and why it is therefore critical to examine the cultural impact of its use in BBC Scotland programmes about the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, it is essential first to examine critical issues around memory studies, archival practices, and television history and historiography. Therefore, this chapter engages with the relevant scholarly literature which underpins my theoretical framework. There are three sections to this framework. The first uses scholarship from the field of Memory Studies to examine the concept of cultural memory and the role of television archive as a memory technology. The second explores current scholarship on archival practices, curation and interventions, to consider how the archive operates as a site of power and a vital tool in the formation of cultural memory. Finally, the third section explores critical thinking around history, historiography, and television, to examine how media institutions historicise the past, and consider the potential cultural consequences of the BBC presenting narratives about the past constructed from its own television archive material.

Section 1: Memory Studies: Key Concepts.

What is memory?

Aleida Assmann describes memory as 'the faculty that enables us to form an awareness of selfhood (identity), both on the personal and on the collective level' (2010:109). Its study can be dated back to the time of Plato's

Theaetetus, circa 369BC, in which he sets out his concept of memory as a wax tablet within our souls, upon which our thoughts and ideas are stamped as images, thus creating perceptions and knowledge. The nature of the stamps that shape the wax – from the make-up of our brain chemistry, to the (traumatic or pleasurable) events experienced in our childhood, and the environment we live in, have been considered by scientists and poets alike for centuries. In the late 19th and early 20th century, memory became a site for psychoanalytical and literary exploration with, perhaps most notably, Sigmund Freud and Marcel Proust examining the psychological sites and triggers for personal memories. Freud's psychoanalysis looked to dreams and sites of childhood trauma to unravel memory,([1899] 1997, [1915] 2005) while the sensory pleasure of a madeleine cake provided the memory jolt for Proust's famous literary meditation *À La Recherche du Temps Perdu (*1871-1922*)*. As Plato's wax tablet and Proust's madeleine illustrate, memories are not objective documents of the past as it happened, but instead are a subjective reflection of how we experience the world. Indeed, in his memoir, *Berlin Childhood Circa 1900* (1950) Walter Benjamin describes memory as the theatre of the past, where events and objects are attributed meaning and prominence. Astrid Erll expands on this, arguing that memories are 'highly selective reconstructions dependent on the situation in which they are recalled' (2011:8). In an attempt to make sense of how personal and public memories shape - and are shaped by - the situation in which they are recalled, Memory Studies encompasses scholarly debate surrounding memory formation and memory culture. It asks questions about how memories are made, and how they affect our perception of ourselves, our past, and our present.

Collective memory

In dealing with these questions, scholars in the field have focused on the intersection between the past (everything that happened prior to now) and history (what is prioritised from the past to be remembered and given value), analysing the role memory formation plays in facilitating the flow between the past and the historical canon, and seeking to identify the cultural factors at play in deciding what is forgotten and what is remembered about the past. The French sociologist, Maurice Halbwachs, is widely acknowledged as a key theorist in the field of Memory Studies, establishing the term 'collective memory' ('memoire collective'), which is a key concept in the area. In his seminal text, *The Social Frameworks of Memory* (1952), Halbwachs considers the way in which our environment and social groups affect our memory of events. Positing the theory that 'social frameworks' (social groups) can influence collective memories of the past, he states that 'the greatest number of memories come back to us when our parents, our friends or other persons recall them to us' (1952:38). As Halbwachs describes it, 'memory depends on the social environment' (ibid) and through memories 'a sense of our identity is perpetuated' (1952:46). In other words, our private and public memories, shaped by the social dynamics of our lives, influence our sense of cultural and national identity.

Lieux de memoire

Pierre Nora reignited debate and interest in the field with his work on national memory in *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past (vols1-7, 1984-1992*). Developing Halbwachs' notion of the impact of the social environment upon memory, he established the term *lieu de mémoire*, which can be defined as:

> any significant entity, whether material or non-material in nature, which by dint of human will or the work of time has become a symbolic element of the memorial heritage of any community (1984:xvii)

The term can refer to a place, object, or concept - such as a monument, event, or symbol - vested with historical significance in the public consciousness. Particularly relevant to this study is Nora's investigation into the role archive material plays in establishing a memory site. At the time of Nora's writing in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the increasing availability of home video cameras and recorders meant that personal audiovisual archives were becoming easier to create with photographs and videotapes. Scholars such as Andreas Huyssen (2003) and Andrew Hoskins (2014) have referred to this sudden abundance of audiovisual archival material, brought about by new technology (such as domestic video cameras and recorders, digital photographic cameras, and internet sites) as a 'memory boom', with the past becoming 'part of the present in ways simply unimaginable in earlier centuries' (Huyssen 2003:1). Certainly, with the advent of the internet in the 1990s, and social media and smart phones in the 2000s, it has never been easier for us to document important cultural and personal events, as well as to record and store the minutiae of our lives for future posterity. Nora put forward the theory that this boom in memory technology affects memory formation in that we become dependent on archive in order to remember. Indeed, his argument that 'modern memory is, above all, archival… reliant on the exterior scaffolding of archive material' (1989:13) is key to my hypothesis on the role that television archive material plays in reconstituting the past in the present. This is evidenced in my textual analysis of *Scotland's Smoking Gun* in chapter three, and production study of *How the Campaign Was Won* in chapter four, in which I examine how narratives about the past are constructed around television archive material and how scripting to the picture impacts on those narratives.

Cultural memory

While Nora's work represents an important milestone in the evolution of the field of Memory Studies, there are limitations to his theories. Although his concept of lieux de memoire provides a fixed, stable reference point for groups to connect to the past, his vision of collective memory focuses on the memorialisation of the state and a fixed sense of nationhood. As Daniel Levy and Natan Sznaider remark, 'the conventional concept of 'collective memory' is firmly embedded within the 'container of the Nation State' (2002: 88). Current scholarship in the field argues that 'this container is being slowly cracked' (Brunow, 2017:7). Erll and Rigney claim that as the field has evolved, a more dynamic concept of memory on the move has developed. In their introduction to *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (2009) they use the term cultural memory, and define it as

> an ongoing process of remembrance and forgetting in which individuals and groups continue to reconfigure their relationship to the past and hence reposition themselves in relation to established and emergent memory sites (2009:2)

Similarly, Myra Macdonald (2006) defines cultural memory as a constantly evolving process in which the past is assessed and re-assessed according to changing personal and cultural circumstances, using the term to testify to

> the complexities of disentangling where our memories come from: whether from direct experience, oft-repeated accounts by friends or family, or from the mediation of the popular media (2006: 329).

Memory, then, is an articulation and iteration of the past; a narrative constructed in a discursive context particular to the rememberer. Our private and public memories are informed and shaped by our current situation and the relationship between past, present, and memory is complicated by the human desire to re-interpret the past to suit our needs in the present. Accordingly, throughout this thesis I use the term 'cultural memory' in relation to the impact

on public memory of the reconfiguration of private and public memories mediated through the archive-based programmes under investigation.

Remediation/travelling memory

Erll's description of remembering as 'an act of assembling available data that takes place in the present' (2011:8) is key to this study, as the description provides a fitting analogy for the decisions made in a television edit suite when choosing and assembling archive material to reconstruct the past. It encapsulates the entanglement of memory, media, and the past which this thesis explores, equating the spatial, temporal, and conceptual journey television archive material makes as it moves between archive and programme - its form remediated, its content re-contextualised - with the concept of memory as multidirectional, always travelling, and always evolving.

Erll and Rigney argue that remediation is a vital factor in cultural memory formation, claiming that 'just as there is no cultural memory prior to mediation, there is no mediation without remediation' (2009:4). Remediation is an important concept for this study, as I consider how television mediates the public's engagement with the past by re-using television archive material. Influenced by Erll's description of remediation as 'the fact that memorable events are usually represented again and again, over decades and centuries, in different media' (2010:392), I consider how television archive material is used and re-used in different television programmes to memorialise specific events, thus creating audiovisual lieux de memoires. This impacts on cultural memory because, as Erll states, 'remediation tends to solidify cultural memory, creating and stabilising certain narratives and icons of the past' (2010: 393). There is a tension between travelling and solidified memory which I will explore in this thesis. For example, the erroneous watermark shot mentioned in the

introduction illustrates the 'travelling' metaphor, but it also highlights the permanence of the mistake. I will consider how this tension plays out in the programmes under investigation by examining how the archive material in them travels physically and conceptually (in that it is remediated, reconfigured and revitalised), whilst creating a stable, fixed narrative which has the potential to solidify into cultural memory.

Dagmar Brunow's assessment of the crucial role that remediation plays in establishing cultural memory is also key to this study. In *Remediating Transcultural Memory: Documentary Film-making as Archival Intervention* (2017) she argues that 'what is not continuously remediated, will soon be forgotten' (2017:15). It is this concern with what is forgotten as well as what is remembered which has influenced the study of archival and production practices at BBC Scotland within my thesis. My aim is to understand how subjectivity in the edit room, as well as factors such as access to and availability of archive material, influence what is remediated and what is not, what becomes a lieu de memoire and what is forgotten.

Remembering and forgetting

According to Erll, forgetting is an essential component of remembering (and therefore constructing the past). She claims that 'in processing our experience of reality, forgetting is the rule and remembering the exception' (2011:8-9). Her description of memories as 'small islands in a sea of forgetting' (2011:9) is evocative of the huge amount of 'data' pertaining to our personal and cultural lives which is either lost or not remembered. However, she asserts that forgetting is 'necessary for memory to operate economically, for it to be able to recognize patterns' (2010:8). What we remember then, is precious, forming a canon of memory which shapes the narrative of our personal and collective past.

In this light, theories of the dynamics between forgetting and remembering in the creation of personal and cultural memory - and the ways in which forgetting and remembering can be manipulated - are extremely relevant to my research as I seek to establish that the archive programmes under investigation, and the archival practices which facilitate their content, can operate as a form of institutional forgetting and remembering which in turn shapes public understanding of the past.

Aleida Assmann's scholarship in this area is crucial to my study and I draw on her theorisation of memory in *Canon and Archive* (2010:97-107) in my exploration of archival practices at BBC Scotland. I argue that her categorisation of memory as 'active' and 'passive' – in which 'active' memory is equated with deliberate actions such as destroying or deleting, while 'passive memory' is equated with losing, forgetting or abandoning, 'fall(ing) out of the frames of attention, valuation and use… (2010:98) is analogous with the process of eliminating footage in the edit room or discovering 'lost' or 'forgotten' footage on the shelves of BBC Scotland's archive.

Further to this, I use Assmann's conceptualisation of an archival institution as a 'lost and found office for what is no longer needed or immediately understood' (2010:105), along with her theory of storage memory and functional memory, as the framework for my analysis in chapter five of the organisational structure of BBC Scotland's archive and the archival practices of its staff. Assmann defines storage memory as dead or passive while functional memory is living, working memory (2010). I equate this with the work BBC Scotland's archive team do within the archive, investigating how they prioritise material for preservation and access, and what this means in terms of canon formation and cultural memory. Assmann claims that:

> whatever has made it into the active cultural memory has passed rigorous processes of selection, which secure for certain artefacts a lasting place in the cultural working memory of a society' (2010:101).

In response, I argue that the selection process which happens in the archive creates a canon of audiovisual material to be reused and disseminated across a variety of media thus becoming embedded in cultural memory.

However, while this thesis agrees with Assmann's argument that the knowledge stored in an archive is inert in that it is 'potentially available, but it is not interpreted' (2010:103), and is reliant on human intervention to attribute meaning, it rejects her argument that:

> this would exceed the competence of the archivist. It is the task of others such as the academic researcher or the artist to examine the contents of the archive and to reclaim the information by framing it within a new context (2010:103).

Building on my own experience of the archive, as well as Terry Cook's argument that archivists are curators, gatekeepers, and enablers, 'the principal actor(s) in defining, choosing and constructing' the archive (2011:614), and in facilitating access to the past, I seek to foreground the crucial work the archive team carry out in contextualising and curating the contents of the archive. Despite the growing range of scholarship on archives as institutions, the study of the working practices of archivists and the challenges they face in attempting to 'simultaneously preserve unique program content on this fugitive media *and* provide access to it' (Compton, 2007:133) is less well covered. Drawing on current scholarship on archives and archivists (Bryant (1998, 2015), Compton (2007), Cook (2011), Baron (2014), Brunow (2015, 2017) and Koivunen (2016)), the intention of this thesis is to further investigation into this area by presenting an insight into the specific challenges faced by an archive team tasked with facilitating a media institution's historicization of the past with its own, contentious, material.

Section 2: Archive as Intervention

The growing body of scholarship focusing on audiovisual archive addresses the pressing need to assess its role in negotiating our relationship with the past. The 2015 edition of *VIEW Journal* dedicated entirely to 'Archive-Based Productions' is a case in point. Its editors, Mette Charis Buchman and Claude Mussou, take the position that in the current digital era - with its unprecedented creation of, and access to, archival content - 'the very definition of an archive and its usage is being challenged' (2015:1). With the aim of exploring what the concept of the archive means, the edition brings together academics and archive professionals to consider television history, culture and 'the role of archives in mediating the past' (ibid). The resulting collection of essays deals with the ways in which audiovisual archives are 'accessed, reused, reedited and reinterpreted over time' (ibid), foregrounding the argument put forward by Vana Goblot that 'memory, nostalgia, aesthetic and moral judgement and, crucially, self-reflexivity are all at play in archive based programme making' (2015:80). The concerns raised within the journal cover similar territory to my own study, namely:

> the ability of an archive document to produce meaning beyond the original intention when reused in new productions; on its capacity to re-enact, reconstruct or interpret the past; and, of course, on its role in enhancing, promoting or hindering remembrance *(*Buchman and Mussou, 2015:2).

However, my research aims to advance the field by approaching these concerns from the perspective of programme makers and television archivists, using my own professional experience to shed light on how production constraints and institutional organisation can affect the meaning produced by television archive material as it travels from programme to programme.

Steve Bryant's essay for the journal, 'Archive Footage in New Programmes', is particularly pertinent to this study as he raises questions about

truth in archive programmes, asking 'how much does it matter if archive footage is misused in a new production?' (2015:1). Influenced by this question, this thesis considers the ramifications of misused, misrepresented and recontextualized footage in a narrative which establishes a template for historical timelines, using a piece of archive erroneously placed within *Scotland's Smoking Gun* as an example. Bryant goes on to raise issues which I seek to address in chapters three and four, asking 'what if the misuse is a case of incorrect technical presentation? Or if a new context is being created for aesthetic reasons? (2015:1) I have faced these issues in my professional career, and this thesis attempts to consider the cultural impact of recontextualization for aesthetic reasons or inaccuracies brought about through the rush to "get it on the screen."[12] Television producer Jerry Kuehl might claim that a television history programme is 'a reflective essay in which nothing is said recklessly but in which the flow of the text is not burdened with a scholarly apparatus either' (2005:379), but the BBC has an obligation of trust to the viewer. This is evidenced by its Safeguarding Trust editorial training programme set up in 2007 to tackle 'the issue of where to draw the line between legitimate media artifice and unacceptable audience deception'.[13] Indeed, as Brunow notes, 'documentary films and essay films require special attention due to their alleged indexical relation to 'reality' (2017:5). This is certainly the case with BBC

[12] A common phrase in edit rooms and production offices in my experience. During my professional career, myself and colleagues would often talk about 'just needing to get something on screen' or 'always getting it on screen in the end.'

[13]The Safeguarding Trust editorial training programme was set up in response to serious editorial breaches which occurred in 2007. The BBC admits 'a child visiting the *Blue Peter* studio was asked to pose as a phone-in competition winner, the showing of scenes from the documentary *A Year with the Queen* in a wrong and misleading order, and the revelation that competitions on various channels had involved audience members being asked to call premium rate numbers when they had no chance of winning'. (Taken from BBC Safeguarding Trust webpage (now archived) accessed 18/09/19

http://www.bbc.co.uk/safeguardingtrust/introduction/index.shtmlhttp://www.bbc.co.uk/safeguardingtrust/introduction/index.shtml

Scotland programmes such as *Scotland's Smoking Gun* and *How the Campaign Was Won*, which employ television archive material - including contested news footage of the referendum campaign – as an indexical document, intended as proof of the veracity of the constructed narrative on screen. By focusing on these programmes, it is the intention of this study to answer Bryant's call for television historians

> to be aware of these issues and the choices the programme makers have made, both when studying programmes which have re-used archival materials and when considering how archival materials have been re-used in new programming. (2015:2)

Jaimie Baron (2014) and Dagmar Brunow (2015) also provide timely, critical interventions into the field, seeking to answer Byrant's call. In *The Archive Effect: Found Footage and the Audiovisual Experience of History (2014)* Baron examines 'the problems of representation inherent in the appropriation of archival film and video footage for historical purpose' (2014:1). Of specific relevance to this thesis is her analyses of the way in which the meaning of audiovisual archive is modified when it is re-used and recontextualised in different texts 'constructing the viewer's experience of and relationship to the past they portray' (2014:1). I employ this idea to explore the link between television archive material and cultural memory.

I also draw upon Brunow's conceptualisation of audiovisual archive as an intervention into historical discourses. She argues that archival footage 'raises questions on the mediation of memory, its media specificity and the way memory travels, how it is adapted, translated and appropriated' (2015:1). Moreover, she regards archive programmes as 'epistemological tools foregrounding the construction of reality through filmmaking' (2017:5) claiming, 'rather than looking at the representation of history in the films, I regard them as theoretical tools in their own right' (2017:5). Studying the production and

aesthetics of archive programmes, according to Brunow, offers the opportunity to explore 'power relations relevant in image making, of historiography and canon formation' (2017:1). I use this theoretical approach to archive programmes in my thesis, approaching the programmes under investigation as tools with which to discover how their construction works to establish specific narratives about Scotland's past (specifically the 2014 independence referendum) and what those narratives indicate about the broadcaster.

Television as memory technology

In her scholarship on memory and remediation, Brunow (2015, 2017) highlights the pivotal role that media plays in our relationship with the past and its ongoing reconfiguration. Citing Marita Sturken's description of media as 'technologies of memory, not vessels of memory in which memory passively resides' (Sturken, 1997:9), Brunow argues that it must be acknowledged that 'cultural memory [is] inextricably linked to its specific media forms' (2017:4). It is worth noting here that an important aspect of the specific media form under investigation in this thesis – television - is its continued presence in public life, despite the growing popularity of online on-demand streaming platforms. For example, Ofcom's *Annual Report on the BBC* (2018) acknowledges that 'the media landscape is changing rapidly' (2018:4) but states

> The BBC continues to play a central role across TV, radio and online platforms. Its overall reach remains high, with more than nine in ten adults consuming BBC content each week. On average, we estimate that audiences spend around 2 hours 45 minutes with the BBC every day
>
> (ibid)

Of relevance to the period under investigation in this study, the BBC Annual Report 2014/15 states that 97% of adults in the UK used BBC TV, radio or online each week (2015/15:3) with BBC news and current affairs programmes

attracting 80% of UK adults each week (2015/15:19). In his introduction to *Television Histories: Shaping Collective Memory in the Media Age (*2001), Gary R Edgerton acknowledges the integral role television plays in public engagement with the past, claiming 'my first and most basic assumption is that television is the principal means by which most people learn about history today (2001:1). Anu Koivunen also takes this position, claiming that not only is television a key site 'for the portrayal of the past and versions of history', (2015:5271) but also it is 'the medium through which most of us learn about the past' (2015: 5270). Recognising the central role television plays in shaping public understanding of the past, Memory and Television scholars (Sobchack (1996), Bourdon (2003), Hoskins (2004), Holdsworth (2011), Gorton & Garde-Hansen (2019)), have sought to understand how television operates as a memory technology, or, as Andrew Hoskins puts it, 'a medium of the present into which it interweaves fragments of the past' (2004:110). Kristyn Gorton and Joanne Garde-Hansen argue that 'as a medium or technology of social memory, British television has played a pivotal role in preserving and transmitting the energies of previous generations' (2019:9). Meanwhile, Jérôme Bourdon attests to its powerful role in memory formation, claiming that 'television viewing is tightly intertwined with the formation of collective memory… (affecting) both the shape and the content of memories' (2011: 33-34). Amy Holdsworth expands on this idea, arguing that television acts as a 'point of collective identification' (2011:145), not just between the viewer and what they see on the screen, but between the audience as a group, sharing the experience of watching. This group experience (for example, a television audience watching an archive film or history programme) can lead to a shared identification with the iteration of the past presented in the programme. Thus, the audience becomes a 'social framework', to refer back to Halbwachs' term. And, as he asserted, it is within these social

frameworks – where people 'acquire… recall, recognise, and localise their memories' (Halbwachs, 1952) that group memories are formed.

Performance of memory on screen.

Agreeing that television operates as a site for individual and group identification with the past, this study focuses on **how** it does this. Alison Landsberg's concept of prosthetic memory provides a key to understanding how television archive material performs memory on screen. In *Prosthetic Memory: The Transformation of American Remembrance in the Age of Mass Culture* (2004), she defines the concept of prosthetic memory as grafted on memories of an event that the audience has not lived through. As she notes, 'with prosthetic memory… people are invited to take on a past through which they did not live' (2004: 8-9). Although prosthetic memories do not 'erase differences or construct common origins', the audience is led to feel 'a connection to the past… all the while to remember(ing) their position in the contemporary moment' (2004: 8-90). Further, In *Engaging the Past: Mass Culture and the Production of Historical Knowledge* (2015), Landsberg argues that what we see on screen has the power to affect us emotionally, thus shaping how we feel about the past. As she puts it, 'film can create and convey something like period truths, a sense of the different texture and contours of life at a specific moment in the past' (2015:26). Baron describes the emotional connection the viewer feels towards archive material on screen as an experience of pastness, in that 'the past seems to become not only knowable but also *perceptible* in these images' (2014:1). Further to this, in her examination of Finnish television and national identity (2016), Koivunen foregrounds the role that archive aesthetics play in creating the connection with the past and experience of pastness described by Landsberg and Baron. Therefore, in chapter three I consider how archive aesthetics inform

the narrative on screen. Engaging with Erll and Rigney's argument that there is a performative element to memory, which they envision as a 'a matter of preserving and retrieving earlier stories' (2009:2) and 'acting out a relationship to the past from a particular point in the present' (ibid), my aim is to highlight how programme-makers play with what Simon Schama calls the 'plasticity and poetics' (2004:29) of audiovisual archive, manipulating formats, editing techniques, and soundtracks to create specific emotional and cognitive responses from the audience in order to create an emotional connection with the iteration of the past presented on screen.

My approach is influenced by John Corner's analysis of *Wisconsin Death Trip* (John Marsh, 19990) in *Archive Aesthetics and the Historical Imaginary (*2006*)*. Corner pays attention to the organisation of archive photographs, specially shot footage, soundtrack and voice-over in the film, exploring the ways in which these elements combine to link 'then' and 'now'. In my analysis I also consider how archival footage, sound, and voice-over are used to create a link between Scotland's past and present in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*. In doing so, I draw on scholarship by Myra Macdonald (2006) and Erin Bell (2010) on the performance of memory on screen. As Macdonald argues in *Performing Memory on Television: Documentary and the 1960s* (2006), the representation of memory on screen in television history programmes 'is frequently manufactured by commentary and editing conventions (2006:337), and I consider how tropes such as archive montage sequences and eye witness accounts work to act out memory on screen, in order to construct a specific iteration of the past.

Production of memory on screen: remembering the referendum

Macdonald points out that in the production of history on television, 'further conditions apply to shape the performance of memory work' (2006:331). She

argues that 'from the process of selecting participants, to the establishment of location, choice of interview method, filming and editing conventions, memories on television are 'staged' within particular parameters' (2006:331). Gray and Bell concur, arguing that the performance of the past on screen is influenced – and limited - by 'technological, financial and cultural' factors (2007:1). Using these arguments as a framework I aim to show that the programmes under investigation in this thesis are a performance of the past, a construction built on institutional production guidelines, creative subjectivity, and constraints on access to archival materials.

In order to consider how production processes affect the representation of the past on screen in *How the Campaign Was Won*, which is constructed almost entirely from BBC news footage, I engage with scholarship relating to BBC news gathering practices. Philip Schlesinger's study of BBC news production practices, *Putting Reality Together* ([1978], 1992), is essential to my research as it offers a valuable insight into the impact both corporate and individual production practices can have on BBC television output, as well as highlighting the tensions between individual creativity and corporate production guidelines involved in making a BBC programme. Further, Marina Dekavalla's research on media framing of the referendum is also crucial to this thesis, in particular a report resulting from a symposium of broadcasters and programme-makers involved in covering the campaign (2015). This report has offered invaluable insight into broadcasters' attitude to the coverage, particularly the statement from one producer that elements of the coverage were where 'box office meets politics' (Dekavalla, 2015:6). This has shaped my approach to the production study in chapter four, and I consider how the production team framed the narrative to fit institutional principals and to draw in viewers. While Dekavalla has provided

valuable research into news coverage of the Scottish independence campaign (Dekavalla, 2015, 2016), this study offers an analysis of how the BBC's news footage from the period is being stored and accessed, and theorisation of how this might affect cultural engagement with, and understanding of, the event.

Section 3: Television History and Historiography

So far in this chapter I have focused on literature which explores how television archive operates as a memory tool, creating an experience of pastness and veracity to connect an audience to specific narratives about the past which are constructed according to the political, cultural and ethical agenda of the producer. My thesis also argues that while the production and archival practices involved in creating archive-based programmes allows archive to travel physically and conceptually (in that footage from the past is remediated and recontextualised in new programmes), material constraints and institutional production practices can lead to the prioritising and canonisation of certain images and events, thus historicising specific moments from the past. *Scotland's Smoking Gun* and *How the Campaign Was Won* were chosen for investigation in this study because they both present accounts of Scotland's recent past constructed almost entirely from BBC Scotland television archive material. As the broadcaster, and its coverage of the referendum, occupied a contested position within the campaign, these programmes foreground problems with the BBC historicising the past with its own, contentious, material. Joanne Garde-Hansen argues that institutions such as the BBC can manipulate 'how citizens participate, create and recreate a nation's past' (2011: 53) and this section deals with current scholarship in television historiography, exploring what it

means for cultural memory when the BBC broadcasts history programmes constructed from its own archive material.

History on television

Since its inception in the 1970s, one of the areas Television Studies has concerned itself with is how the medium presents history on the screen, and how its own history should be studied. Hayden White's seminal text, *Metahistory*: *The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-century Europe* (1973) opened up a new way of thinking about *how* the past is articulated historically, arguing that history is constructed with the same narrative framework as the tropes of literary fiction. His influence can be seen in television scholarship which deals with history, historiography and production histories. An example is John Corner's argument that the historical imaginary on screen is 'an engagement with the historical within which imaginative constructions, serving different aesthetic and ideological ends, are primary elements (2006:294) and further that 'historical fiction often foregrounds these constructions, but they are also 'often powerfully present in purportedly factual accounts too' (ibid). In other words, the programmes under investigation are as much a construct as a drama recreation. Similarly, in *Television and History* (1980) Colin McArthur acknowledges not only that history on television is a construct, but that production practices play a role in shaping history on television. He claims that 'the writing of history and the production of television programmes are not in the last analysis diverse, wholly autonomous and unconnected activities' (1980:15), arguing that they 'take their character from the system of production relationships in the social formation they inhabit' (ibid).

Echoing McArthur's argument, Robert Dillon points out that 'history does not appear out of thin air'(2010:200), but is constructed, or - to use his term –

'manufactured' by historians (2010:200). Gary R Edgerton applies this argument to television producers making history programmes, claiming they aim to create what he calls "a workable past" 'where stories involving historical figures and events are used to clarify the present and discover the future' (2001:4). Dillon expands on this, arguing that television producers create a narrative about the past 'that fits their own social, political, cultural and professional needs' (2010:200). This comment echoes Astrid Erll's argument that memory formation is selective and 'dependent on the situation in which [memories] are recalled' (2011:8). It also highlights why it is crucial to investigate the constructed nature of history programmes on television, particularly when that history is as contested as the 2014 Scottish independence referendum.

History boom.

Andrew Hoskins claims that since the arrival of the VCR on the mass market 'the return to and on the past has been relentless' (2014:118) and this is reflected in Ann Gray and Erin Bell's claim that since the mid-1990s there has been a 'history boom' on British television (Gray and Bell, 2013: 2), with history programmes taking up a sizeable share of schedules and viewing figures. Indeed, Dillon claims that 'television has become a historian in its own right, by using history as a commodity' (2010:2). Scholarship in the field of Television Studies has responded to this history boom with several notable texts - Branston (1998), Edgerton (2001), Cannadine (2004), Wheatley (2007), Dillon (2010), Holdsworth (2011), Gray & Bell (2013), Gorton & Garde-Hansen (2019) - examining how television operates as a conduit between the past and the present, and exploring issues around historiography and history on (and of) television. Ann Gray and Erin Bell's call for television to be analysed as 'a producer and mediator of history and not simply a consumer of the work of academic historians involved in

history programming' (2013:6) is a case in point. They argue that television history programmes are a 'construction of versions of the nation and national identity' (2013:2) and in *History on Television (2013)* they examine commissioning, production, marketing, and distribution histories to explore how television mediates the past. However, although they focus on a variety of historical programme formats, they do not cover archive-based programmes. I aim to add to the field with this study of archive-based history programmes.

'The picture should have all the content': problems with history in a visual medium

Edgerton claims that history on television is 'a different kind of history altogether' (2001:1) from the history of the academy in that its message is disseminated through a visual medium, which as Stuart Hall has remarked, is structured around the primacy of the image (1976). Colin McArthur claims that this 'has positively alarming consequences in historical documentary on television' (1980:13). In *Television and History* (1980), his monograph for the BFI, he cites Kuehl's, "rules of television" in which 'the gaps in commentary may be dictated, not by the writer's conscious decision… but by what is or is not available on film' (Kuehl, 1976: 178). In response to this McArthur warns:

> such is the tyranny of the moving image in tele-history that the existence or non-existence of a piece of film may determine whether or not a particular historical point will be made' (1980:14).

Similarly, in his 1976 essay for *Sight and Sound* on television and culture, Stuart Hall remarks on the potential impact on the public consciousness of the tyrannical image, and its construction of the past, noting 'the images we see [on television] are constructions of or representations of 'the actual', not reality itself' (1976: 247). In other words, television mediates the images beamed into our living rooms and consciousness. As Hall states, 'television can almost never

be the means by which the viewer gains access to the 'raw materials' of culture, free of the mediation of cultural-social values inherent in the presentation of the programme' (1976:248). Choices are made throughout the production process which reflect the programme makers' and institutions social and political values.

According to Hall (in his assessment of the problems inherent in what is constituted as 'good' television) television is a medium which, 'visualises whenever it can, never uses a word when it can supplant it with an image or illustration' (1976: 250) and 'is visually dramatic, the pictures are full of incident' (ibid). These words are echoed over forty years later in an interview conducted for this study, with director, Craig Willaims, claiming,

> It's always pictures. You always write to the pictures. The pictures should have all the content. The content should be driven by the pictures.

During this interview, Williams gave an example from his own work to illustrate the point he was making:

> you are always looking for the pictures that will dramatise, illustrate, the story. So when you've got something as boring as the Chancellor of the Exchequer talking about whether or not a currency will be the pound, you know, you're looking for the picture.

This example shows that McCarthur's concept of the tyranny of the moving image and its impact on a television audience's relationship with the past, particularly a contested past such as the Scottish independence referendum, is still ripe for study.

Thinking about the tyranny of the moving image in relation to archive material, Tim O'Sullivan argues that 'contemporary understanding of history has become rooted in the mish-mash of representations and images provided by television' (1998:202). Further, he sees this as a way to understand the way in

which television companies 'recycle and re-present their archive resources'(ibid), stating that 'as television has become more conscious of its own past, its own history, [its] archive material has been harnessed' (ibid) and that:

> the development of these types of programming in a period of economic stringency makes good commercial sense. The ex-controller of Channel 4, Michael Grade, for example, has noted that 'it would be madness on the part of broadcasters not to exploit what he termed 'this sleeping asset' (1998:202).

This description of the use of television archive material as an indication of business savvy on the part of the broadcaster references another aspect of Landsberg's theory of prosthetic memory, in which media institutions seek to instil an audience with a sense of connection to the past through forms of mass communication, such as television or cinema, for commercial gain (2004:8). It also encapsulates a problem with television executives' understanding of what television archive material is, and what it can do, which my thesis seeks to influence. My professional experience as an archive producer has taught me that a common belief held by programme-makers, executives and commissioners at the BBC is that the archive television material contained within the BBC's vaults is a cheap and quick option for filling the screen with content, free to use and easy to access. However, those sleeping assets are not benign elements resting peacefully on the shelves of the archive. As my research shows, each frame, each film reel, each video tape on the shelf is a powerful tool which can shape how an audience connects with the past, and how a nation sees itself. Further, the very existence of each reel or tape on the shelf is testimony to the work of the BBC archivists whose job it is to preserve, catalogue, contextualise, and facilitate access to these materials for programme makers.

The missing picture: issues with preserving television archive

A key theme in the collection of essays in *Re-viewing Television History* (2007), which tackle 'a series of crucial issues in television historiography' (2007:2), is that preservation is a prerequisite for televisual history. As Helen Wheatley argues, central to scholarship on television history is 'the question of access to, and survival of, material that shapes our sense of television history' (2007:8). Similarly, Jason Jacobs echoes Colin McArthur's fears about the tyranny of the moving image, remarking that 'the danger here is that television history gets reconstructed around what survives for viewing rather than what was actually shown' (2006:12). What is present and accessible in the archive becomes the material with which history on television is built. Access and availability dictate the structure of the history which broadcasters use to shape our understanding of the past. Although Jacobs and Wheatley's remarks are directed at the history of television, this study applies their concerns to the history programmes made by BBC Scotland about the Scottish independence referendum, in order to explore the cultural impact of the BBC cannibalising its own archive material to make history programmes when its archive consists only of what has been preserved and what can be easily accessed.

Relatedly, Máire Messenger Davies' essay in *Re-Viewing Television History* on salvaging television's past argues that 'survival' of television programmes in the archive is 'an essential (but sometimes neglected) ingredient of canonicity' (2007:40). Further, she confronts the issues 'that arise out of the physical survival, or lack of it, of television programmes' (2007:40). Although she poses this question in relation to problems with writing a history **of** television, it is also crucial to the understanding of problems with making/presenting history **on** television. Gillian Branston's essay for *The Television Studies Book* (1998) also

tackles issues with using television archive material as evidence upon which to base a television history. She calls for caution 'about the nature of evidence, and the discourses and interpretations to which evidence is subject' (1998:53), noting that 'in the case of television, debates over what is to count as evidence are troubled by the ephemerality of its raw material' (1998:53). *Television Heritage* (1989), Steve Bryant's account of the history of television archives in the UK, highlights the ephemerality of television archive material. Not only is the physical material fragile (film stock and tape stock are both susceptible to degradation and damage), but, according to Bryant's account, the television archive institutions are built as much on absence as abundance.

With particular reference to the BBC, Bryant notes that most of the programmes from the early days of television and live broadcasting were not recorded and are therefore not available to revisit and review. Despite technological innovations in the 1950s and 1960s which saw a transfer from film to video tape for recording programmes, prior to the establishment of a formal archive in the 1970s, many BBC programmes were not kept after transmission. Video tapes were expensive and archival space was limited so many programmes were wiped in order to allow the tapes to be re-used (Bryant, 1989:13). As both Bryant and Branston point out, value judgements were involved in deciding what was discarded and what was kept (Branston, 1998:54; Bryant, 1989:14). Indeed, Bryant argues that 'cultural attitudes were as important a factor as economic or technical considerations' (1989:14), noting that 'a *Wednesday Play* is more likely to have survived than an episode of *Z Cars*' (1989:14)[14]. This example indicates

[14] *The Wednesday Play* was a series of television plays which ran from 1964 to 1971, shown on BBC1. The remit of the plays was to tackle difficult and socially relevant issues, but with a broad appeal. One of the most famous Wednesday plays is Cathy Come Home (1966), directed by Ken Loach, which resulted in a debate in Parliament about homelessness in Britain. *Z-Cars* was a drama series which aired on the BBC from 1962 until 1978. The action centred around a police station in the North of England. Although 801 episodes were recorded, less than half have survived.

the value judgements at play about what was considered worth preserving and what stories, or aspects of British life, have been lost. This is of relevance to scholarship on television historiography, and to this study of archive programmes, because it acknowledges that the evidence which historians and programme-makers alike can draw on from television archives is not only limited but based on subjective and cultural value judgements.

Further, Branston notes that a television archive often reproduces 'the practises of its parent institution: how information is selected, catalogued, displayed, retrieved or easily overlooked' (198:54). I address these issues in my analyses of archival and production practices at BBC Scotland during the referendum campaign, aiming to show that archival history programmes made entirely from the contents of an archive built on institutional value judgements can have a huge impact on the version of the past presented on screen and thus cultural memory.

Wheatley argues that restrictions to access to television's past, either because programmes have not been preserved, or because they are 'cordoned off with vaults and locks' (Messenger Davies 2007:40) – as is the case with the BBC's archive, which is not open to the public – impacts on the kind of historical research that gets undertaken (2007:11). My research seeks to offer an intervention into this impasse as my scholarship and my industry profession has allowed me access to BBC Scotland's vaults not readily given to the public or the academy. My research has its roots in years spent physically investigating the tapes held in the broadcaster's locked vaults, and mining data in the digital archive for clues as to what might be lying 'forgotten' on the shelf. Further, despite a wealth of literature about the BBC, from Asa Briggs' (1985) account of the birth and development of the broadcaster, to Ofcom's 2018 report on its UK-

wide output and ambitions,(2018), as well as WH McDowell's comprehensive history of the BBC in Scotland from 1923 to 1983 (1992) and Steve Bryant's overview of the history of the BBC archive (1989), there is little thorough investigation of BBC Scotland's archive. My research presents new information about archival practices in BBC Scotland, which sheds light on the canonisation of material in the archive, which in turn shapes the iteration of Scottish history presented on screen.

Historiography and the BBC

Bell and Gray note that in Scotland 'debates over appropriate representations of the past have been tied to wider discussions' (2013:7) about Scotland's relationship with the rest of the United Kingdom. James Mitchell calls this the Scottish Question (2014), which he describes as an ongoing debate about 'how Scotland relates to the rest of the UK and the question of how Scotland should be governed.'(2014:4) A major point of debate in Scotland during the 2014 independence referendum campaign was whether BBC Scotland's representation of Scotland's past and nationhood was appropriate. Branston's assessment of the BBC as a public service broadcaster makes an interesting point about broadcasting and impartiality:

> the concept of public service allowed campaigners to mobilise discourses of impartiality which, though subject to important critiques over the last 30 years, have been a strategic resource for defending investigative and critical broadcasting in Britain (1998:56).

During the independence referendum campaign, discourses around impartiality and balance became a site of conflict between BBC Scotland and sections of the Scottish public who believed the broadcaster was guilty of institutional bias towards the Union. I examine this in more detail in chapter two, but Branston's thoughts on representation are also worth noting here, as they foreground an

issue covered in this thesis, namely who gets to speak on the BBC, and who the BBC speaks for. She cites Reith's manifesto to the 1923 Crawford Committee, the key points of which were that Public Service Broadcasting 'should be a universal service with right to access for all', but that it should depend on a 'unit of control', which Reith later referred to as 'the brute force of monopoly' (Branston, 1998:57). In other words, the founding father of the BBC had a vision of public broadcasting, which all could watch, but only a few could control. My analysis of production and archival practices at BBC Scotland indicates that this is still the case, in that the histories presented on screen, and the ideologies or canons of taste they reflect, are created by a small group of commissioners and programme-makers. Thus, public memory and public culture is created by the taste and ideology of a few.

Branston's questioning of who Reith's vision of a public service broadcaster 'making the nation as one man' represents is particularly apt when considering discourses about televisual nation-building and the debate around BBC Scotland's coverage of the independence referendum campaign. She asks:

> whose national identity is presumed here? England, or rather a very select/ed part of the Home Counties is implicit in the accents, assumptions and even the sporting events covered by early broadcasting. If the UK is 'the nation', how are the nationalities of Ireland, North and South, to be treated? If it is Britain, how do Wales and Scotland feature? (ibid)

In chapter two, I engage with Branston's concerns about whose national identity is being presumed in my account of BBC Scotland's relationship with its viewers and the rest of the BBC during the referendum campaign. Fundamental to this study is Branston's description of what happens when a broadcaster constructs narratives about the past with the contents of an archive which is built on absence as much as presence:

> over time, the most powerful versions of history are reconfirmed, they become sedimented down, pressed into new narratives and accounts. These always involve taken-for-granted assumptions which in turn shape the relationship of television's legislators, trainees, practitioners and historians in an imaginary past and even more speculative future.' (1998:51).

Or to put it another way, the iteration of the past presented in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* and *How the Campaign Was Won,* constructed through specific archival choices based on personal choice, institutional protocol and material constraints, has the potential to become the template for future programmes about the referendum. This is exemplified by the archive-based three-part documentary series about the independence referendum campaign, *Yes/No: Inside the Indyref*, broadcast on the BBC Scotland channel in 2019. The series sets out the same narrative about the campaign as *How the Campaign Was Won*, focusing on the same key events and using several of the same archive clips to illustrate those events.

Conclusion

Branston argues that 'as soon as a powerful institution is founded, its practices imply a history' (1998:51). She claims this is particularly true of the BBC, remarking, 'in the case of the BBC, its unofficial history-making can be discerned in its publicity and in the televised repeats and compilations of programmes through which it celebrates its anniversaries' (ibid). Given the momentous nature of the Scottish independence referendum, it is safe to assume it will be memorialised on the BBC for years to come. Indeed, *Yes/No: Inside the Indyref* indicates that the memorialisation process is already in effect. In this light, Helen Wheatley's warning that there is a pressing need to reflect on the 'calcification of historical narratives' (2007:2) in television, and to challenge 'received notions of what television history is, or how one goes about doing it' (2007:1) becomes more urgent, because as she notes, these issues have 'a direct

impact on the kinds of television we might want, or need, to demand in future' (ibid). Wheatley's argument that there is a 'connection between the 'proper' history of the world 'out there' and television history, the world 'in there' (2007:4) is at the heart of this study. As she notes, this connection suggests that 'there is a real need for engaged and informed analyses of the ways in which television documents and interprets – and often impacts on – a broader social history' (ibid). The intention of this thesis is to fulfil this need with an analysis of the production and archival practices of BBC Scotland staff during the Scottish independence referendum.

Chapter 2: 'Just How Did We Get Here?' BBC Scotland and the 2014 Scottish Independence referendum

Throughout this thesis I will demonstrate how BBC Scotland's television archive is used by the broadcaster to create specific narratives about the past, thus historicizing certain events and embedding them into cultural memory. My decision to use BBC Scotland's coverage of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum as a case study was based on my own experience of BBC Scotland's reporting and contextualisation of this momentous event. During the two-year campaign an increasingly vocal sector of BBC Scotland's audience became frustrated with its reporting of the referendum, accusing it of pushing the agenda of the BBC's headquarters in London and of institutional bias towards maintaining the status quo of a United Kingdom[15]. Indeed, in 2017, *The Herald* newspaper reported that a survey carried out by BMG Research found that of those polled '64 per cent of those who voted for independence in 2014 agree[d] that the BBC is biased in its reporting' (Devlin, 2017) [16].

While it is not the intention of this thesis to attempt to prove whether or not the BBC was biased in its coverage, the contested nature of the referendum footage held within its archive, and its potential for reuse provides a remarkable opportunity to explore the connection between media, remediation, and memory. The purpose of this chapter is to set the scene for my research by giving an overview of the historical context of the referendum, a brief account

[15] *The Herald* newspaper review of *How the Campaign Was Won* and the protests outside Pacific Quay, noted in the introduction, are examples of frustrations expressed with the BBC

[16]'One in three Scots think BBC biased against independence': https://www.heraldscotland.com/news/15085861.poll-one-in-three-scots-think-bbc-biased-against-independence/

of the BBC's history in Scotland, and finally an account of the campaign and the BBC's contested position within it, in order to foreground the unique nature of the event and the power inherent in the footage stored in the broadcaster's archive.

Section One: Historical Context of the Referendum.

The Scottish Question

Writing in 1959, J. M. Reid described Scotland as 'a very unusual thing by Twentieth Century standards' (1959:174). Describing it as 'a country which is, at least in some sense, a nation, but in no sense a State' (ibid) he asked 'can anything so anomalous continue to exist in this modern world?'(ibid) Yet, for 15 hours on Thursday 18th September 2014, the people of this anomalous place held not only the future of Scotland, but also that of the United Kingdom, in their hands. Between 7am and 10pm on that day, while the polls were open and the Scottish electorate cast their votes, answering Yes or No to the question 'should Scotland be an independent country?' the country itself was in a liminal state, neither independent nor part of a union with England, Wales and Northern Ireland. And, as the political journalist, Peter Geoghegan, noted at the time, the referendum did not just have the potential to affect Scotland, but the UK and Europe too:

> what would the United Kingdom without Scotland be called? Would it survive as a tripartite union? Who would get the prized family heirlooms, North Sea oil and gas? From Montreal to Antwerp, Venice to Banja Luka, would-be secessionists were watching on with more than dispassionate interest. (Geoghegan, 2014:12)

Although the result was in favour of remaining a part of the United Kingdom, with, according to the 2014 Electoral Commission Report, 2,001,926 people

(55.25% of all voters) voting No and 1,617,989 people (44.65% of all voters) voting Yes (2014:7), it was too close to be decisive. Writing in 2016, Tom Mullen claimed:

> It is already apparent that the referendum has not finally resolved the political questions relation to Scotland's future in the UK, far less removed the threat that the Union may be dissolved within the foreseeable future. (Mullen, 2016:3)

Neil McGarvey argues that 'the 2014 referendum is likely to be viewed historically as a critical juncture in both Scottish and UK politics' (2015:34) and the echoes of this argument are felt in the current debate surrounding Scotland's future in relation to the rest of the United Kingdom. Central to the main party campaigns for the General Election in 2019 were issues surrounding Brexit and a potential second Scottish Independence referendum.[17]

In seeking to understand Scotland's journey to referendum in 2014, contemporary political scholars and historians (Adamson and Lynch (2014), Mitchell (2014), McGarvey (2015), Kidd and Petrie (2016), Mullen (2016), Brown-Swan (2019)) have engaged with what James Mitchell calls 'the Scottish Question' (2014). Referencing the 19th century tendency to 'describe complex and seemingly intractable problems as 'Questions' (2014:3), Mitchell argues that the Scottish Question is not one single question, 'except in the broadest sense of how Scotland relates to the rest of the UK and the question of how Scotland should be governed'(2014:4). It is instead made up of a series of components and questions such as 'to what extent is Scotland a nation and how has the UK state catered for Scottish distinctiveness over time?' (2014:1) and 'how have changes in the economy and society as well as changes in the role of the state

[17] Examples can be found here of Brexit and Indyref 2 appearing in SNP and Labour Party campaigns: for the GE2019:
'Nicola Sturgeon's open letter to Remain voters – back the SNP to escape Brexit':
https://www.snp.org/nicola-sturgeons-open-letter-to-remain-voters-back-the-snp-to-escape-brexit/
'General Election 2019: Corbyn says no indyref 2 before 2021': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/election-2019-50451747

had an impact on these matters' (ibid). Acknowledging that 'there is little agreement on what the question is, far less its answer' (2014:4) Mitchell argues that it has 'involved a shifting mix of linked issues' over time (ibid), including 'questions of national identity; Scotland's constitutional status and structures of government; party politics; and everyday public policy concerns.' (ibid) Therefore, he argues, 'it is hardly surprising that there is so little agreement on the Scottish Question given the wide range of issues' (ibid).

This was certainly the case during the 2014 referendum campaign, with advocates for independence and for unionism tussling over components of the Scottish Question such as identity and constitutional status. Mitchell argues that because politics is about defining which issues are important and, further, that 'determining what is on the agenda, what is important and needs to be addressed will always be contested' (ibid), the Scottish Question will therefore always be contested and reflective of the current political agenda. He also argues that there is no set answer to the Scottish Question, 'only a series of responses appropriate at each point in time' (ibid). In the next section I will look at how the Scottish Question was approached during the referendum campaign by journalists and programme-makers seeking to contextualise its component parts as a series of milestones on the road to referendum.

Milestones on the road to referendum

Scotland's Smoking Gun opens with a voice-over posing the question, 'just how did Scotland get here?' During the referendum campaign, political journalists, news reporters and programme-makers sought to answer this question by explaining the background to the referendum as a series of milestones on Scotland's journey to the poll. For example, the BBC set out timeline overviews

highlighting key moments in Scotland's history on its online news platforms[18], tracing a route from the Acts of Union to the polling booths in 2014. Similarly, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* incorporates a journey and milestone format, as does STV's three-part series *Road to Referendum* (STV, 2013). The timeline set out in *Road to Referendum* is replicated in the book of the same name written by Iain McWhirter and published as a tie-in to the series in 2013. More recently, as part of a workshop for the Economic and Social Research Council led by Coree Brown Swan, she asked "so how did we get there? What was the road to the 2014 referendum?"[19]

Colin Kidd and Malcolm Petrie point out in their analysis of the historical context of the referendum that 'proximity to events makes contemporary history a risky undertaking' (2016:29) and, as I have argued in the Literature Review chapter, the past is always more complex than the simple cause-and-effect timelines often presented as history. However, as the programmes under investigation in this thesis - *Scotland's Smoking Gun* and *How the Campaign Was Won* - offer timelines of events leading up to and during the referendum campaign, which I will argue perpetuate a specific narrative about the history of the referendum thus potentially influencing public memory of the event, in this chapter I will reflect on the events referenced in the programmes. As *Scotland's Smoking Gun* starts its timeline in the 1950s, and contemporary political scholars (Mitchell (2014), McGarvey (2015), Kidd and Petrie (2016)) agree that the mid-Twentieth century marked a turning point in Scottish politics, with McGarvey claiming that 'Scotland developed its own distinct civil society which over the

[18] 'Q&A Scottish independence referendum': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-13326310

[19] *Should We Stay or Should We Go? A Tale of Five Referendums* was held at the Centre for Constitutional Change in Edinburgh University on 6th November 2019 as part of the Economic and Social Research Council Festival of Social Science. Brown Swan is a research fellow at the Centre for Constitutional Change.

decades gradually evolved into a distinct polity and political system' (2015:34), in this chapter I will focus on specific events between 1950 and 2014.[20]

Changing political attitudes in Scotland from the 1950s to the 1960s

Kidd and Petrie argue that mid-century Scottish politics outwardly assumed a largely British, and Unionist hue' (2016:32), noting that:

> the two-party dominance of Labour and the Conservatives in England and Wales were replicated in Scotland, with the two parties routinely sharing over 85 per cent of the vote both north and south of the border in the early 1950s (ibid).

The Scottish National Party (SNP), formed in 1934[21] was still considered to be on the political fringes during this period (Mitchell, 2014:88). The dominant Scottish political party in post-war Scotland was the centre-right Unionist Party, which merged with the Conservatives to become The Scottish Conservative and Unionist Party in 1965 (Mitchell, 1990:9). According to Petrie and Kid, 'Scottish Unionism had traditionally opposed Home Rule' (2016:32). The shift of power from the Unionist Party to the Labour Party in the late 1950s, still indicated an opposition to Home Rule as 'in 1958 Labour officially repudiated its commitment to establish a Scottish Parliament' (Kidd and Petrie, 2016:32).

Macwhirter claims that the reason for post-war Scotland's advocacy of unionism was the improvement to living standards brought about by the nascent NHS and welfare state (2013:111-112) and this argument is reflected in the timeline of *Scotland's Smoking Gun*. However, Kidd and Petrie regard the reported 1.7 million signatures on the Scottish Covenant petition for Home Rule

[20] It is not within the scope of this thesis to write a full account of Scottish history and politics. *The Break-up of Britain (*Nairn, 1997*),* and *The Scottish Question* (Mitchell, 2014) offer fuller accounts of Scottish Political history, Similarly, *Conservatives and the Union* (Mitchell, 1990*), The Scottish Labour Party: History, Institutions and Ideas (*Hassan*,* 2004*) and SNP: The History of the Scottish National Party (*Lynch*, 2013)* offer fuller accounts of the history of these parties in Scotland. *Red Scotland*! (Kenefick, 2007) also offers a history of radical Scotland missing from the timeline put forward in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*.

[21] 'About the SNP: History': https://www.snp.org/history/

in 1950[22] as evidence that 'notwithstanding the electoral marginality of the SNP, national identity was far from irrelevant to Scottish political debate' (2016:33). In 1950 the Stone of Scone (also known as the Stone of Destiny) was taken from Westminster Abbey[23] by four Scottish students who supported Home Rule for Scotland. The stone was discovered three months later at the high altar of Arbroath Abbey in Perth, where the declaration of Arbroath (declaring Scottish independence) is thought to have been written in 1320.[24] It is this incident which *Scotland's Smoking Gun* sets out as the first milestone on the road to referendum, and Kidd and Petrie argue that the incident was an indication of 'a frustrated Scottish sentiment.' (2016:33)

This sense of frustrated Scottish sentiment is reflected in the change in fortunes for the SNP. In 1967, Winnie Ewing had a surprise win in the Hamilton by-election on a campaign for self-rule[25], famously declaring to the crowds outside the Hamilton count, 'Stop the world, Scotland wants to get on!' (Russell, 2004:1). Reporting on the win in the *New York Times*, Anthony Lewis asked, 'why has the Nationalist party's membership soared from 2,000 to 60,000 in the last five years?' (Lewis,1967:1). Included in his list of potential reasons for increased support for Home Rule in Scotland was television:

> Curiously, television, which many thought would create a more unified public opinion in a country as small as Britain, may have had the opposite effect. Regional accents for one thing have become respectable… And the exposure given to London politicians on the screen may have served in the long run to sap their credibility (ibid).

[22] Kidd and Petrie describe the Scottish Covenant as 'a mass petition for expressing a vague commitment to Home Rule (was) inaugurated in 1949 and had reportedly acquired 1.7million signatures by the following year (2016:33). However, lacking parliamentary support, the Covenant was 'easily dismantled by the Labour government' (ibid).

[23] The Stone of Scone is currently held in Edinburgh Castle: https://www.edinburghcastle.scot/see-and-do/highlights/the-stone-of-destiny

[24] 'Declaration of Arbroath': https://www.nrscotland.gov.uk/research/learning/features/the-declaration-of-arbroath

[25]Before Ewing, there had only been one SNP MP elected to Westminster. Robert McIntyre won a seat in the Motherwell by-election in 1945 but lost it 3 months later (Devine 2016:114)

Ewing herself claimed that television had played a role in her success. In an interview with The Guardian, she said:

> Television has been a big factor in helping us appeal to youth. They see the world on the screen – life in countries like Norway… They see politicians on the screen, and the politicians don't show up well – a lot of windbags (Boyd, 1967:8).

Mitchell claims that Ewing's election was important because it altered the Scottish Question from 'how Scotland should be catered for within the United Kingdom to whether it should be part of the United Kingdom at all' (2014:113). He also argues that 'the rise and fall in political salience of a Scottish Parliament would thereafter run in parallel with the fortunes of the SNP' (ibid). This can be seen in the next milestone presented in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*; the discovery of oil.

'It's Scotland's Oil' and the 1979 referendum on devolution.

The Forties oilfield, discovered off the coast of Aberdeen and 'switched on' by Queen Elizabeth II in November 1975[26], set the scene for a political debate about ownership of the oil and its revenues. Mitchell notes that the SNP 'recognised the political value of oil in a world in which energy had become a scarce and valuable commodity' (2014:157). During this period the United Kingdom was experiencing an energy crisis; the combination of a miners' strike and a cut in oil supplies 'forced the government to take emergency measures' (ibid) reducing commercial and domestic use of electricity to three days a week between January and March 1974(ibid). In *The Breakup of Britain* (1981) Tom Nairn asks, 'why has the threat of secession apparently eclipsed that of the class-struggle, in the 1970s? (1981:14) and an answer can be found in growing tensions over who would benefit from the great results expected from the North Sea oilfields. Nairn argues that the discovery of oil gave the UK government the 'promise of an

[26]Reuters, 'Flow of Oil from North Sea into Britain is Inaugurated by Queen', (1975) *The New York Times*, 4 November, p47

eventual reversal of the chronic British balance-of-payments crisis, a restoration of sterling, and a state-aided industrial investment programme of modernization' (1981:57). However, the SNP argued that as the oilfield was in Scottish waters, not only did it belong to Scotland but that it would make an independent Scotland extremely wealthy. This was reflected in the party's poster and tv campaign, *It's Scotland's Oil,* which asked the question, 'why is Scotland poor when we have oil?' In an interview for the BBC programme, *Midweek* (1974)[27] the SNP politician, Margo MacDonald, described the UK government policy of selling off the oil field to private investors in order to fund investment as "handing them out like sweeties", adding "it's quite a good bargain, the North Sea".

Like Ewing, Margo MacDonald was the surprise winner of a by-election, taking a seat traditionally held by Labour in the Govan by-election in 1973 (Mitchell, 2014:156). This win is presented as another milestone in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*. MacDonald's campaign focused on the poverty in Govan, described in *The Guardian* as a 'living example of industrial tragedy' (Mackie, 1974:7) and the wealth that an independent Scotland could bring[28]. Arguments about oil and wealth re-emerged during the 2014 referendum campaign, as evidenced in the Yes Scotland poster, 'What would you say to living in one of the world's wealthiest nations?' (2-1), an argument reminiscent of the *It's Scotland's Oil* campaign.

As a result of the campaign, the SNP 'broke through as a real parliamentary force in Scotland' (Devine, 2016:127). In the two General Elections held in 1974, it gained seven seats in the first election and eleven in

[27]Midweek programme number: CC080712

[28]Govan is also the site of another milestone in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*; the UCS work-in led by Jimmy Reid. In 1971 Shipyard workers refused to let their yard be closed down, opting to occupy the site and continue working until a buyer could be found.

the second, 'pushing the Tories into third place in Scotland and achieving 30 per cent of the vote' (ibid). According to Tom Devine:

> more alarming from Labour's point of view was the fact that the SNP had come second in no fewer than forty-two constituencies. As Michael Foot confided to Winnie Ewing: 'It is not the eleven of you that terrify me so much, Winnie, it is the forty-two seconds (2016:128).

As a result, according to Kidd and Petrie (2016:3), in 1978 the Labour government passed the Scotland Act which provided for a referendum on a Scottish Assembly with devolved powers. However, there was division within the Government as to whether Scotland should have its own parliament, resulting in a 'controversial provision [which] constituted a significant obstacle in the way of devolution' (Kidd and Petrie, 2016:37). The Labour MP, George Cunningham, secured an amendment to the Scotland Act which stipulated that it had to be 'put before parliament for repeal if the total number of 'yes' votes in the referendum was less than 40% of the electorate' (ibid). As Kidd and Petrie point out, 'it proved an insurmountable barrier' (ibid). On 1st March 1979 the referendum was held, with the Scottish electorate asked to vote Yes or No to a Scottish Assembly. Although the result was in favour of the Scottish Assembly, with Yes gaining 51.6% of votes cast[29] as the turnout was only at 64%, this meant that the votes cast for Yes only represented 32.9% of the electorate and the Act was therefore repealed.[30]

The democratic deficit and the settled will.

The Scottish Assembly might have been repealed, but, despite the resistance of the Conservative government led by Margaret Thatcher (described by Kidd and Petrie as a 'committed but clumsy Unionist' (2016:39) the debate around

[29] Dewdney, R (1997) *Results of Devolution Referendums (1979 & 1997*) Parliamentary Research Paper No 97/113:5

[30] Dewdney, R (1997) *Results of Devolution Referendums (1979 & 1997*) Parliamentary Research Paper No 97/113, p8

devolution of governmental powers from Westminster to Scotland had not. For example, at the first Scottish Constitutional Convention in Edinburgh in 1989, set up to campaign for a Scottish parliament, Canon Kenyon Wright made his famous speech about Thatcher's resistance to devolution:

> What if that other single voice we all know so well responds by saying, 'We say No, We are the state.' Well We say Yes and We are the People' (Wright, 1997:52).

Mitchell argues that 'the Conservatives had come to be seen as 'anti-Scottish' since the 1980s' (2016:85) and Thatcher's government is presented in both *Road to Referendum* and *Scotland's Smoking Gun* as a milestone in Scotland's journey, highlighting another aspect of the Scottish Question: the growing political division between Scotland and the rest of the UK. This was evident in the election of four successive Conservative governments at Westminster between from 1979 to 1997 'during a period in which the party had only a minority – and declining – support in Scotland' (McHarg, 2016:104). Aileen McHarg claims that this democratic deficit 'provided a clear rationale for devolution' (2016:104).

In a speech at the Scottish Labour party conference in 1994, the then Labour party leader, John Smith, claimed that a devolved Scottish Parliament would deliver 'the settled will of the Scottish people' (Wright, 1997:143). Although Smith died in 1994, Labour's manifesto for the 1997 General Election included a commitment to calling a referendum on Scottish devolution, as his legacy (1997:32-33). Following a landslide win,[31] Prime Minister Tony Blair honoured that commitment and a referendum on devolution was called on 11th September 1997 (Mitchell, 2014:247). Again, this is presented as a milestone on the road to the independence referendum in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*. Labour,

[31] '1997: Labour landslide ends Tory rule': http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/vote_2005/basics/4393323.stm

the Lib-Dems and the SNP campaigned together for devolution, while the Conservatives campaigned against (Mitchell, 2014:249-250). On the day of the vote, the Scottish electorate were asked to vote on two questions,1) whether there should be a Scottish Parliament and 2) whether a Scottish Parliament should have tax varying powers. The electorate voted in favour of Yes- Yes, with a majority of 74.3% for the first question and 63.5% for the second question (Mitchell, 2014:250). According to a Parliamentary research paper, the number of people voting 'yes' to a Scottish Parliament 'increased from 51.6% in 1979 to 74.3% in 1997' (Research Paper No 97/1137, 97:9). As a result, the first Scottish Parliamentary Election was held in 1999, and was won by the Scottish Labour Party, led by Donald Dewar, who became First Minister leading a coalition government with the Liberal-Democrats (Mitchell, 2014:253-256). On 12th May 1999, Scottish Parliament was officially reconvened.[32] As the mother-of-the-house (the oldest member), Winnie Ewing presided over the opening, announcing, "I want to start with words I've always wanted to say or hear someone say. The Scottish Parliament, adjourned on the 25th day of March, in the year 1707, is hereby reconvened"[33]. In 2004, Scottish Parliament moved into its current premises, a specially designed building in Holyrood, Edinburgh[34]. A decade after the 1997 referendum, not only was the Scottish Parliament an established part of Scottish and UK politics, but it was about to become the home of the SNP as the Scottish Government for the next decade, which *Scotland's Smoking Gun* presents as one of the final milestones.

[32] '12 May 1999: Winnie Ewing reconvenes the Scottish Parliament': http://news.bbc.co.uk/democracylive/hi/historic_moments/newsid_8187000/8187312.stm

[33]Winnie Ewing's full speech can be viewed here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PB_aOAO0c4g

[34]https://www.parliament.scot/visitandlearn/16171.aspx

The SNP in government

In an interview for BBC Scotland news, the Labour politician, George Robertson argued in 1995 that a devolved parliament would "kill the separatist movement stone dead"[35] However, the Centre for Constitutional Change argues that the opposite is true, claiming:

> Far from 'killing nationalism stone dead' by moving the principal arena of Scottish politics from Westminster to Holyrood, devolution has promoted a distinctive Scottish political sensibility: the sense that Scotland has its own identity, interests, values and priorities, that set it apart from the rest of the UK and require discrete and emphatic political expression (2019)[36]

This was evident in 2007, when the SNP narrowly won the Scottish Parliament Election by one vote[37] and formed a minority government, in coalition with the Scottish Conservatives,[38] with Alex Salmond (SNP) as First Minister. In September 2007 the Scottish Government, led by Salmond, changed the official name of the parliamentary body in Holyrood from Scottish Executive to Scottish Government.[39] Salmond told the BBC that the reason for the name change was to establish the role of the governing body in the public consciousness:

> Obviously, the Scottish administration is the government. It is regarded as the government across a range of issues, and it should act like a government (Reported by BBC, 3rd September 2007)[40]

The SNP were re-elected for a second term in government in 2011, with Salmond continuing his role as Scottish First Minister and leader of the party.[41] This

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[35]Comment made in an interview for *Reporting Scotland* 'it would kill the separatist movement stone dead' 05/02/1995 Programme number: ANCA506L

[36] 'The Labour Party since devolution': https://www.centreonconstitutionalchange.ac.uk/news-and-opinion/labour-party-devolution

[37] 'SNP wins historic victory': https://www.theguardian.com/uk/2007/may/04/scotland.devolution

[38] 'SNP frozen out as Labour buries hatchet with Conservatives to end 20 year taboo': https://www.scotsman.com/news/politics/labour-frozen-out-as-snp-buries-hatchet-with-conservatives-to-end-20-year-taboo-1-1427779

[39] 'Scottish Executive renames itself': http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/6974798.stm

[40] ibid

[41]'Scottish Election: SNP Majority for Second Term' https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-13319936

landslide win (with the SNP taking 69 seats out of 129)[42] made history because it broke the parliamentary buffers put in place to stop there being a majority party in Holyrood[43]. The SNP's campaign manifesto included a commitment to calling for a referendum on whether Scotland should become an independent country, and their majority win gave them the mandate to carry this out. Adamson and Lynch argue that SNP electoral success in 2007 and 2011 'was built on its popularity as a policy party associated with government competence not public support for independence' (2014:37). This notion is reflected in a *Newsnight* post-election special report broadcast on 6th May 2011[44] in which the reporter claimed that despite the SNP's landslide win, "polls consistently show majority of Scottish voters oppose independence but that doesn't seem to stop them from putting the SNP in charge of a devolved parliament." (*Newsnight Special*, 2011). A vox pop with a with a member of the public who had voted SNP in the Scottish election was used to illustrate this dichotomy:

> Vox pop interviewer: You voted SNP but you wouldn't back independence?
>
> Member of public: No. Wouldn't back it at all.
>
> Vox pop interviewer: Why not?
>
> Member of public: I just don't think we're big enough. There are not enough people in this country.
>
> Vox pop interviewer: So why vote for the nationalist party?
>
> Member of public: Why not?'[45] (*Newsnight Special*, 2011)

This attitude was reflected in a poll carried out for the BBC's *Politics Show* in October 2011 which indicated that public support in Scotland for Scottish

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[42]Carrell, S (2011) 'Stunning SNP victory throws spotlight on Scottish independence', *The Guardian* https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2011/may/06/snp-election-victory-scottish-independence

[43] Tony Blair was aware of the potential opportunity a Scottish Parliament could give the SNP. So, the Scottish Parliament's part first-past-the-post, part PR voting system was intended to prevent any one party (ie the SNP) gaining an overall majority' 'Q&A Scottish independence referendum: https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-13326310

[44]*Newsnight Special* broadcast 6 May 2011. Programme number NNAT455F

[45] ibid

independence was only at 28%. The most popular choice, at 33%, was Devo Max (devolution max) offering full fiscal autonomy for Scotland[46]. However, the then-UK Prime Minister, and leader of the Conservative Party, David Cameron, ruled out this third option appearing on the ballot paper. During the negotiations over the terms of the referendum, he insisted that the question must be binary, with a Yes/No answer, stating:

> What we have is what I always wanted, which is one single question, not two questions, not devo max, a very simple single question that has to be put before the end of 2014 so we end the uncertainty (Press Association 2012)[47].

On 15th October 2012, Salmond and Cameron signed the Edinburgh Agreement[48] on behalf of the Scottish and UK Government, agreeing the terms of the referendum. Article 30, granting Scottish Parliament the power to hold the referendum, was confirmed in January 2013[49]. On 21st March 2013, the date was set for the referendum[50]. The Scottish Independence Referendum (Franchise) Bill 2013, which extended the franchise (right to vote) to include 16-year olds[51] was given Royal Assent in August 2013[52]. According to the Electoral Commission Report, the right to vote in the referendum was extended to any person aged 16 years or over on 18th September 2014, who was registered to vote and a British citizen, a qualifying Commonwealth citizen, or a citizen of another European

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[46]'BBC survey indicates support for Scottish devo-max': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-15610909

[47]Press Association, (2012), 'Scottish independence referendum deal signed by Cameron and Salmond', *The Guardian:* https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2012/oct/15/scottish-independence-referendum-cameron-salmond

[48] 'Scotland referendum 2014: timeline': https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/research/scotland-the-referendum-and-independence/timeline/

[49] ibid

[50] ibid

[51]'Scottish Independence Referendum (Franchise) Act 2013': http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2013/13/contents/enacted

[52]'Scotland referendum 2014: timeline': https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/research/scotland-the-referendum-and-independence/timeline/

Union member state. (ECR, 2014:59). The Scottish Government launched its white paper on independence, titled *Scotland's Future: Your Guide to an Independent Scotland*, on 26th November 2013[53]. In December 2013 Royal Assent was granted to the full Scottish Independence Referendum Bill[54], meaning the legal framework for the Scottish electorate to decide on Scotland's future was in place. The Electoral Commission Report commended the legislative process, remarking:

> We believe that the experience of legislating for the Scottish Independence Referendum provides, in the main, a model for the future development of referendum and electoral legislation. Sufficient time was allowed by the Scottish Government to consult on the proposed legislation, followed by the Scottish Parliament having sufficient time to properly scrutinise proposals and legislate, with Royal Assent for the primary pieces of legislation being in place nine months before 18 September (2014:8).

On 25th May 2012, the Yes campaign had its official launch, [55] followed on 25th June 2012 by the official launch of No campaign[56]. These events are set out as the first milestones of the campaign in *How the Campaign Was Won*. Yes Scotland, led by Blair Jenkins (ex-Head of News and Current Affairs at BBC Scotland and STV, and ex-Director of Broadcasting at STV) was the main pro-independence group. Describing itself as a 'coalition for Yes', it included 'the dominant SNP and the smaller Greens, some independents and the Scottish Socialist Party' (Adamson & Lynch, 2014:8) as well as the Radical Independence campaign, which 'offered a more radical version of the independence option

[53]Scotland's Future: Your Guide to an Independent Scotland: https://www.webarchive.org.uk/wayback/archive/20170701185948/http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2013/11/9348/0

[54]'Scotland referendum 2014: timeline': https://www.parliament.uk/business/publications/research/scotland-the-referendum-and-independence/timeline/

[55]'Scottish independence supporters launch Yes campaign': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-scotland-18205601/scottish-independence-supporters-launch-yes-campaign

[56] 'Scottish independence Better Together campaign launch': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-scotland-18581893/scottish-independence-better-together-campaign-launch

than either the SNP or Yes Scotland' (Adamson & Lynch, 2014:9). Better Together, led by Alastair Darling (who served as Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Labour government from 2007-10), was the main pro-Union umbrella group 'for the Conservatives, Labour, and Liberal Democrats' (Adamson & Lynch 2014:8). *How the Campaign Was Won* focuses on aspects of the referendum debate framed around questions of economy such as currency, oil, defence spending, The NHS, jobs and pensions. However, the rhetoric used by pro-Independence and pro-Union campaigners also asked voters to consider their nation's identity and imagine the future Scotland they wanted to live in. For example, a Yes Scotland campaign poster stated, 'Scotland's Future in Scotland's Hands' (2-1) while a Better Together poster announced, 'I Love Scotland, I'm Saying No' (2-2). Young people and children featured in campaign videos talking about their future in an independent Scotland or United Kingdom, giving the impression that decisions made on 18th September 2014 would affect Scotland's future for generations to come[57].

At the start of the two-year campaign opinion polls showed that the Scottish electorate favoured remaining in the Union, with support for independence at only 33% when Yes Scotland launched.[58] However, that figure changed drastically in the last few months of the campaign as electoral interest in (and media coverage of) the debate increased, with activists on both sides hitting the campaign trail. On 6th September 2014, *The Times* published a YouGov poll putting Yes in the lead for the first time, with support for

[57]Yes Scotland's *A Choice of Two Futures* released in March 2014 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4o6bNNsHzpE.
Better Together's *Why we are Better Together* released October 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RxbAu3LphYM

[58]Independence: Salmond's Mountain https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2012/05/28/independence-salmonds-mountain

independence at 51%[59]. The response from the UK Government and pro-Union political parties was to offer to give increased powers to the Scottish Parliament; on 15th September 2014 the Scottish tabloid newspaper *The Daily Record* printed 'The Vow' on its front page[60]. The Vow stated 'the people of Scotland want to know that all three main parties will deliver change for Scotland' in the event of a No vote, followed by a list of promised changes and the signatures of the leaders of the three main political parties in the UK - Prime Minister David Cameron, Labour leader Ed Milliband and Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg – to confirm their agreement. Scottish Ex-Labour Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, also came to Scotland to give a series of televised live speeches[61] setting out his case for remaining in the Union. During his speech to a small audience of supporters in a town hall in Glasgow on 17th September 2014,[62] he listed seven 'real risks' about independence, all of which were financial, whilst also invoking pride in national identity, stating, "and our patriotic vision, proud of our Scottish identity… let us tell the people of Scotland that we who vote No, love Scotland and love our country"[63].

The polls opened at 7am on Thursday 18th September 2014, closing at 10pm that evening.[64] The Electoral Commission Report records:

> queues at the door when voting opened at 7am, such was the engagement of the electorate keen to express their preference on the referendum question. The atmosphere in polling places was reported by police, staff and observers to be good natured throughout the day (2014:6).

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[59] 'Yes campaign lead at 2 in Scottish Referendum': https://yougov.co.uk/topics/politics/articles-reports/2014/09/06/latest-scottish-referendum-poll-yes-lead

[60]Clegg, D (2014), 'David Cameron, Ed Miliband and Nick Clegg sign joint historic promise which guarantees more devolved powers for Scotland and protection of NHS if we vote No', *Daily Record*, https://www.dailyrecord.co.uk/news/politics/david-cameron-ed-miliband-nick-4265992

[61] These televised speeches were contentious as the live broadcasts indicated they were prestigious events, but in fact Brown had no authority to deliver on his promises of increased powers as he was not the leader of his political party at that time, or in the party of government.

[62]'Gordon Brown's barnstorming speech in defence of the Union': https://labourlist.org/2014/09/gordon-browns-barnstorming-speech-in-defence-of-the-union/

[63]ibid

[64] Postal voting started in August 2014.

Votes were returned and counted throughout the night, with live broadcasts from each voting area reporting results as they came in. In the early hours of Friday morning, Mary Pitcaithly, the Chief Returning Officer announced that enough votes had been counted to declare that Scotland had voted to remain a part of the UK by 55.3% to 44.7%[65]. Although No had won by a clear majority, the gap was small enough for the question of independence to be a continuing discourse in Scotland for years to come. This became evident during the EU referendum in 2016, with Scotland and Northern Ireland voting to remain in the EU, while England and Wales voted to leave.[66] In the wake of the results of the EU referendum being returned on 24th June with 51.9% in favour of leaving the EU, the current First Minister of Scotland, Nicola Sturgeon, gave a press statement claiming "there is no doubt that yesterday's result represents a significant and a material change of the circumstances in which Scotland voted against independence in 2014"[67].

Such was the level of public engagement with the 2014 referendum debate and the high level of emotional attachment to the decisions being made about the country's future, that a wide range of sites and objects becoming invested with mnemonic value, from the community centres, town halls, and street corners that became centres for political debate, to the proliferation of Yes and No signs that appeared in private and public spaces across Scotland. Layers of Yes and No stickers piled on top of each other on lampposts and litter bins, graffiti conversations between Yes and No on pavements and buildings,

[65]'Final referendum result announced': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/video_and_audio/features/uk-scotland-29272913/29272913

[66]Press Association, (2016), 'Britain votes to leave the European Union', *The Scotsman*: https://www.scotsman.com/news-2-15012/britain-votes-to-leave-the-european-union-1-4162593

[67] 'Brexit vote: Nicola Sturgeon statement in full': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-36620375 Membership of the EU for an independent Scotland was a major point of discussion during the independence referendum, with Better Together leaders claiming that the only way for Scotland to guarantee membership of the EU was to remain in the union. https://twitter.com/uk_together/status/506899714923843584?lang=en

comments on billboard posters from opposing sides all built up a unique urban palimpsest where history was figuratively and literally being written and re-written on a daily basis *(2-3)*.

Recording each twist and turn of the campaign, each milestone in the journey to the polls on 18th September, was BBC Scotland. Not only was it the principle broadcaster covering the campaign, but became part of the story, occupying a contentious position within the debate about Scotland's future. Therefore, the next section deals with the BBC in Scotland. Although there is scope for an entire thesis on the history of television production in Scotland, the aim of this section is to give a brief overview of the birth of television broadcasting in Scotland and the issues it raised around broadcasting and national identity, before moving on to analyse BBC Scotland's role in reporting the Scottish independence referendum.

***2-1* Yes Scotland posters** 'What would you say to living in one of the world's wealthiest nations?' & 'Scotland's future in Scotland's hands' (©Yes Scotland)

***2-2* Better Together poster** 'I Love Scotland I'm Saying No Thanks' 2014 (©Getty)

***2-3* Yes and No**

Top row: Yes and No houses (© Rhoda Moudi)

Middle row: No supporter (personal photograph), Aye statue (© Una Clive-Skilling), Donald Dewar statue covered in stickers (© Linsey Wilson), Yes in Barra (©Jean McCLure)

Bottom row: Yes! (©Katie Noble), Aye We Can (©Katie Noble), Yes/No pile on (©Linsey Wilson), Naw Yes (©Linsey Wilson), End London Rule on a bin (©Linsey Wilson)

Section Two: The BBC in Scotland.

'Television Comes to Scotland'

Formed in 1922 and incorporated by Royal Charter in 1926[68], the British Broadcasting Company is, according to Charlotte Higgins 'an institution at the heart of Britain [which] defines and expresses Britishness' (2015:xi). But as Gillian Branston asks, 'whose national identity is presumed here?' (1998:57). Her further enquiry, 'If it is Britain, how do Wales and Scotland feature?' (ibid) foregrounds the Scottish Question's concern with how Scotland relates the rest of the United Kingdom. This section considers how Scotland is represented by the BBC, and how the BBC is represented in Scotland.

The BBC first established a presence in Scotland in 1923, setting up a radio station in Bath Street in Glasgow's city centre (McDowell, 1992:15). Television broadcasting arrived in Scotland in the 1950s, further to recommendations made in 1951 by the Beveridge Committee on Broadcasting, set up by the government in 1949 'to consider the future of broadcasting in the United Kingdom' (Medhurst, 2008:2017). The Committee acknowledged 'the changing status of broadcasting in British society' (Medhurst, 2008:18) and recommended devolving power from London by setting up Broadcasting Councils in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

As a result, Kirk O'Shotts -picked because of its location between Glasgow and Edinburgh and the density of the population in that area[69] (McDowell, 1992:82) - was established as the site for building Scotland's first television transmitter. It was launched on 14th March 1952, broadcasting *Television Comes*

[68] BBC Royal Charter, 2016:3

[69] McDowell claims that one of the major issues facing the BBC in reaching audiences in Scotland was the country's geography. Hills and islands were hard to broadcast to (1992:82)

to Scotland. Filmed at the BBC music studio in Edinburgh, the programme featured prayers, speeches and country dancing (McDowell, 1992:83). Concerns about who gets to speak at the BBC are foregrounded in the response from the BBC's Controller of Television Programmes to the broadcast. In a scathing memo he wrote, 'speeches dreadful. Really dreadful. Dull and boring with the Provost coming off best. This sort of television dullness is most depressing' (Walker, 2011:188).

William H McDowell also highlights concerns about nationality and the BBC in his account of the first broadcast, pointing out that *Television Comes to Scotlan*d did not so much herald the beginning of a primarily Scottish television service, but rather, 'the arrival of television from England to Scotland' (1992:84). This was because the BBC believed that 'the extension of the transmitter network merited a higher priority than the provision of studio facilities outside London' (1992:85), indicating where the broadcaster's priorities lay in terms of representing the nation on television. There was no immediate plan to build a television studio in Scotland, meaning the majority of programmes broadcast to Scotland would be made in England, with an outside broadcast unit covering sporting and news events, and other Scottish-originated material (1992:83).

McDowell contends that the opening of Scottish television studios, along with the addition of BBC 2 in Scotland in 1966, and increased competition arising from the arrival of commercial television in Scotland in 1957 (1992:83-122) all contributed to an increase in Scottish television production for the BBC. He also indicates that issues around autonomy and representation have always been a part of the history of the BBC in Scotland, as the prioritising of the transmitter network over building Scottish studios highlights. As evidence of the increasing

'sense of national consciousness' (1992:240) in Scottish broadcasting, he cites the Scottish Arts Council's statement regarding the state of Scottish television and the BBC in Scotland in 1975, which mirrors the debates being held around Scotland's relationship with the United Kingdom during the referendums on devolution in 1979 and 1997, and the independence referendum in 2014:

> we believe it would accord better with the consensus of opinion in Scotland if more power to take decisions, and more resources to make them effective, were given to people in Scotland (1975:9).[70]

BBC Scotland

By the time of the 2014 referendum, BBC Scotland had greatly increased its powers and resources since 1952. To accommodate its expanding workforce and output, in 2007 it moved its headquarters into Pacific Quay on the banks of the river Clyde in south Glasgow[71]. Pacific Quay (commonly known as PQ) is a specially built complex containing television and radio studios, the *Reporting Scotland* newsroom and studio, production facilities and offices, online services, and the television and radio archives. Designed as a 'connected building' it features digital broadcasting and editing facilities along with the BBC's first HD-capable newsroom. Everything necessary to develop, produce, broadcast, and archive a television, radio, or online programme is available at Pacific Quay[72]. With satellite studios across the country, from the Orkney islands to the Borders, BBC Scotland is the largest media institution and commissioner in Scotland.

Although BBC Scotland has its own Director, commissioning body, management structure, and executive board,[73] it is not fully autonomous in that

[70] The Scottish Question (Mitchell, 2014) along with Gerry Hassan's investigation of institutions of power in Scotland, including the media, in *The Anatomy of New Scotland: Power, Influence and Change* (2002) and *Independence of the Scottish Mind* (2014) indicates that Branston's concerns about whom the BBC speaks for were still being considered in Scotland in the years between the Scottish Arts Council's statement and the 2014 referendum.

[71] 'Opening ceremony for new BBC HQ': http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/7004071.stm

[72] 'History of the BBC: Pacific Quay': https://www.bbc.com/historyofthebbc/buildings/pacific-quay

[73] Confirmed by Ian Small by email

it receives its funding from a central BBC budget, approval for which is signed off by the Director General[74]. It is part of the Nations and Regions group within the BBC network, which also includes BBC Wales, BBC Northern Ireland and BBC English Regions. The purpose of this network is to fulfil the BBC's obligation under the Royal Charter Section 6 (4) 'to reflect, represent and serve the diverse communities of all of the United Kingdom's nations and regions' (2016:5). As such, BBC Scotland is responsible for creating radio, television, and online content about Scottish culture, sport, and politics for broadcast across the UK and specifically for Scotland. To achieve this, it provides television programming for the four main BBC channels (BBC1, BBC2, BBC3, and BBC4) as well as its own dedicated digital channel, called BBC Scotland Channel, which was launched in February 2019[75]. It also operates BBC Radio Scotland and the online streaming platform, BBC The Social. Gaelic, Scotland's indigenous language, is served by BBC Radio nan Gàidheal and (in partnership with MG Alba) BBC Alba, a Gaelic-language free-to-air channel available across the UK digital and satellite services. As with BBC Wales, Northern Ireland and English Regions, BBC Scotland also has 'opt-out' programming. This is designated time when BBC Scotland can opt out of the network schedule and broadcast its own content on BBC1 Scotland (and, until February 2019 when it was replaced by the new digital channel, BBC2 Scotland). The broadcaster describes opt-out programmes as being 'particularly relevant to the distinctive culture of Scotland'[76] and the most

[74] Confirmed by Ian Small by email.

[75] 'Welcome to your brand new television channel: BBC Scotland': https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/1hx87NrNp3Y45hF2NyQDhFs/welcome-to-your-brand-new-television-channel-bbc-scotland

[76] 'About BBC Scotland FAQ 1. Why does BBC Scotland sometimes opt out from network programming?' https://www.bbc.co.uk/aboutthebbc/scotland/about/faqs

notable example of this is BBC Scotland's flagship news programme, *Reporting Scotland*, which has been broadcasting daily on BBC1 Scotland since 1968[77].

Reporting Scotland

During the referendum campaign, *Reporting Scotland's* coverage was often singled out for criticism by pro-independence supporters who claimed news items were unduly negative about independence[78]. The BBC has denied these accusations[79], but the perception of bias in *Reporting Scotland's* coverage feeds into an ongoing debate about BBC Scotland's relationship with the network, and how this might shape the broadcaster's representation of Scotland.[80] During the referendum campaign, with the question of how Scotland should represent itself to the world at the forefront of the public consciousness, the BBC's approach to reporting national and worldwide news came under the spotlight. Since the launch of BBC Scotland, UK and international news has been reported by the network on its flagship programmes, *(*currently *BBC News at One, BBC News at Six*, and *BBC News at Ten)*, all of which are produced in London, with *Reporting Scotland* aired immediately after these bulletins to report on Scottish issues. This has led to accusations of Scotland being treated as less than equal by the BBC's London headquarters, with journalist Kevin McKenna claiming in *The Guardian* newspaper that the system perpetuates the idea that 'if you want to get the important stuff, you have to go down to London' (McKenna, 2016)[81].

[77] *The BBC in Scotland: The First Fifty Years* includes a timeline of broadcasting events in Scotland, including the launch of Reporting Scotland on 1st April 1968 (2011:16)

[78] *Fairness in the First Year* (Robertson, 2014), discussed later in this chapter, is an example

[79] The Director of BBC Scotland rejected claims made by *Fairness in the First Year* at the Scottish Parliament's Education and Culture Committee discussed later in this chapter

[80] Ian Small met with campaigners to discuss these issues in 2018

[81] McKenna, K (2016), 'And now a very brief word for BBC viewers in the far, far, North', The Guardian: https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/jul/16/bbc-scotland-scottish-six-downgraded-television

Since the 1990s there has been pressure put on the BBC for Scotland to have its own international news service and one of the consequences of the referendum campaign was an increased interest in this concept, commonly referred to as the Scottish Six[82]. Following a study of public service broadcasting led by Lord Puttnam, in 2016[83] BBC Scotland's then-Director, Ken MacQuarrie, submitted a proposal to the BBC's Director General, Tony Hall, for a new Scottish Six news programme and ordered three pilots to be filmed to test out potential formats.[84] Hall rejected the proposal, instead agreeing to fund a new digital channel for Scotland, with a budget of £30million.[85] As a result, the new BBC Scotland digital channel launched on 24th February 2019. Its flagship programme is *The Nine*, an hour-long news programme broadcasting at 9pm on weekdays, from a specially built studio in Pacific Quay with a remit to show 'the world through Scottish eyes'[86]. Tony Hall, has said of the BBC Scotland channel:

> We know that viewers in Scotland love BBC television, but we know that they want us to better reflect their lives and better reflect modern Scotland. The best way to achieve that is a dedicated channel for Scotland[87].

However, during the referendum campaign, the BBC's role in influencing how the world saw Scotland, and how Scotland saw itself, became a source of tension between the broadcaster and its audience, which the next section will explore in more detail.

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[82] See Higgins, 2015:204 and Hassan, 2018:116 for history of negotiations for the Scottish Six

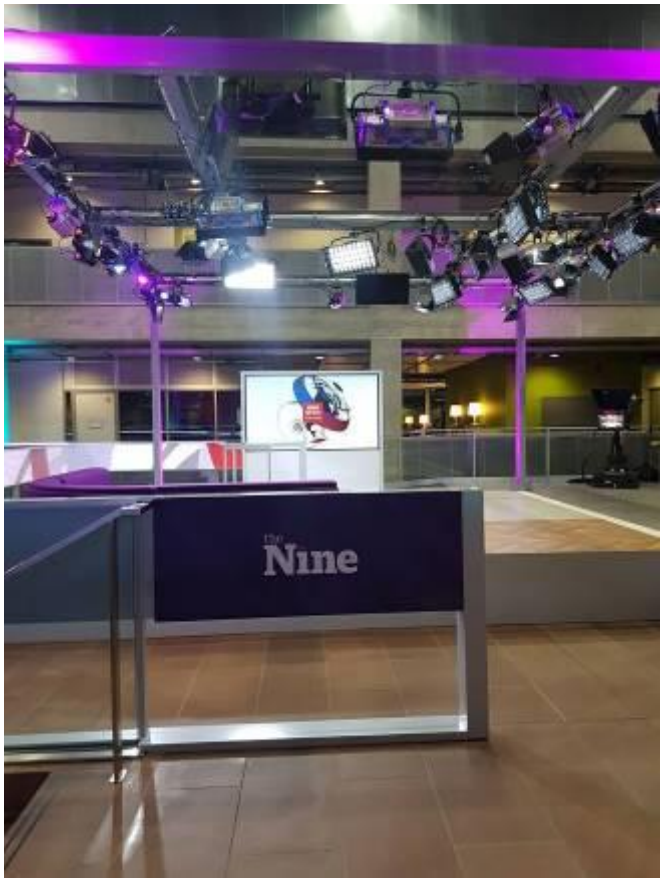
[83] Gilbride, P (2016), 'Report Backs Scottish Six TV News', *The Times*: https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/report-backs-scottish-six-tv-news-kzxd63w0q#

[84] 'BBC to trial Scottish Six programme': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-35658589

[85] Cramb, A (2017), 'BBC to launch new TV channel for Scotland with £30million budget', *The Telegraph*: https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/2017/02/22/bbc-launch-new-tv-channel-scotland-30m-budget/

[86] BBC Scotland's Nine news will show 'world through Scottish eyes' https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-46371501

[87] 'Welcome to your brand new television channel: BBC Scotland': https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/1hx87NrNp3Y45hF2NyQDhFs/welcome-to-your-brand-new-television-channel-bbc-scotland



2-4

The set for The Nine, the BBC Scotland channel 1hour news programme broadcast weekdays at 9pm. The set is built on The Street, an open-plan area on level three of the Pacific Quay building in Glasgow (personal photograph, not to be reproduced without permission)

2-5 'Channelling our Nation poster advertising the new BBC Scotland channel (personal photograph)

Section Three: Broadcasting the Referendum

BBC Scotland's coverage of the campaign

Journalists reporting on the campaign and academics seeking to understand its ramifications in the aftermath (Macwhirter (2014), Dekavalla (2015), Dekavalla & Jelen-Sanchez (2016) and Mitchell (2016)), have agreed that the Scottish independence referendum was a ground-breaking event in Scottish politics. Indeed, Neil McGarvey describes it as 'truly historical' (2015:34). Macwhirter describes the campaign in Scotland as a 'boisterous festival of political participation' (2014:9), with public engagement and grassroots activism at a level never before seen in Scotland[88]. McGvarvey agrees, claiming that, in Scotland, if not the rest of the United Kingdom:

> the constitutional future of Scotland superseded sport, celebrity, TV and any other form of gossip both in the real world of conversations in town halls, cafes, bars and streets as well as the online trending world of twitter, social media and live streaming' (2015:36).

According to Blair Jenkins, Chief Executive of Yes Scotland, Yes campaign organisers believed that the best way to persuade people to vote for independence was through conversations with people they trusted, stating in *How the Campaign Was won*, 'we knew that if we wanted to win, we genuinely had to become a national movement'. They therefore encouraged grassroots communities 'whose enthusiasm arguably pushed both the official campaigns into a more direct engagement with voters' (Dekavalla, 2015:3). Although Yes community groups were more prominent than No groups, both sides were actively involved in campaigning throughout the campaign.[89] This passionate

[88] Mitchell acknowledges 'the lack of systematic analysis of levels of public engagement' with the campaign (2016:90) but argues that key figures on both sides of the debate as well as journalists who covered the campaign confirmed this perception of public engagement being at unprecedented levels (ibid).

[89] Commented on by contributors in *How the Campaign Was Won*.

engagement was reflected in the high turnout figures for the vote. According to the Electoral Commission Report, at 84.6%, the voting turnout 'was the highest recorded at any Scotland-wide poll since the advent of universal suffrage' (2014:1). Mitchell attributes this high level of public engagement to the length of the campaign, claiming 'what is clear is that the long intense campaign increased the amount of information available to voters' (2016:75). Although the official 16-week campaign period began on the 30th May 2014 (Electoral Commission Report, 2014:87) Yes Scotland and Better Together launched their campaigns for Yes and No in May and June 2012[90], giving the electorate two years to learn about the issues surrounding the proposition of Scotland becoming an independent country.

BBC Scotland's coverage of the campaign played a crucial role in this process. Although social and digital media were important platforms during the campaign, particularly for groups who held an opposing view to the mainstream media, according to research carried out for the Economic and Social Research Council it was television that provided the major source of information for the electorate in the form of news bulletins and current affairs programmes (Dekavalla, 2015:3). Further, according to the BBC Annual Report 2014/15, it was primarily the BBC that audiences tuned in to. The report states that 97% of adults in the UK used BBC TV, radio or online each week (BBC, 15:3) with BBC news and current affairs programmes attracting 80% of UK adults each week (BBC, 15:19). BBC Scotland's Management Review 2014/15 states that its audience reach for BBC1 Scotland was 75.6% in 2013/14, rising to 76.1% in 2014/15 (BBC Scotland, 15:2). BBC2 Scotland's audience reach dipped slightly

[90]'Scottish independence supporters launch Yes campaign': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-scotland-18205601/scottish-independence-supporters-launch-yes-campaign
'Scottish independence Better Together campaign launch': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/av/uk-scotland-18581893/scottish-independence-better-together-campaign-launch

from 52.2% in 2013/14 to 49.9% in 2014/15 (ibid). However, the early evening edition of *Reporting Scotland* was the most watched daily news programme in Scotland (BBC Scotland, 14:4). The BBC Scotland *Leaders' Debate* between Alex Salmond and Alistair Darling broadcast live from Kelvingrove Museum on 25th August 2014 was watched by 860,000 viewers in Scotland (a 33% share of the 5 million population) beating the STV *Leaders' Debate* (broadcast earlier in the month) by over 100,000 viewers[91], and the highest ever ratings for a political debate in Scotland (BBC Scotland, 15:4). It is also worth noting that BBC News Scotland Online, which featured audiovisual news clips had an average of 4.7million users per week, a 16% increase from the previous year (BBC Scotland, 15:2). In the final week of the referendum it reached a new high with 13.2m UK and 22.6m global browsers visiting the site (BBC Scotland,15:4).

All the main UK broadcasters - BBC, ITV, Channel 4, Channel 5, and Sky – featured the referendum in news reports in the final months of the campaign, with interest across the UK increasing as polling day approached, and viewers in Scotland who may not have been following the campaign taking the opportunity 'to make up their mind in the final stage' (Dekavalla 2015:3). In the last few months of the campaign, *BBC News* at 1pm, 6pm and 10pm regularly ran stories about the campaign, while *BBC News 24* covered the debate and latest events more thoroughly. BBC Business Editor, Robert Peston, presented *For Richer or Poorer (BBC2)*[92], a documentary about the economic issues surrounding the debate, while the political journalist, Andrew Neil, examined the impact of an independent Scotland on the UK in *What's at Stake for the UK? (*BBC2, 2014)[93]. In

[91] Plunket, J (2014) Scottish independence TV debate draws peak of almost 1 million on STV', *The Guardian*: https://www.theguardian.com/media/2014/aug/06/scottish-independence-tv-debate-stv-alex-salmond-alistair-darling Report states STV debate drew 765,000 viewers.

[92] *For Richer or Poorer* (BBC, 2014) https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b049b89z

[93] *Scotland votes: what's at stake for the UK?* (BBC, 2014) https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b04dr69k

the last week of the campaign, *BBC News* and *BBC News 24* had reporters based in Scotland. On 18th September they reported live from Pacific Quay throughout the night as well as from all the count venues around the country.

However, it was left to the two Scottish broadcasters, BBC Scotland and STV to cover the two-year campaign in its entirety. As well as news coverage of the campaign, STV hosted several TV debates, including the first *Leaders' Debate* between Alex Salmond and Alistair Darling on 5th August 2014. It also broadcast *Road to Referendum* (2013). But it was BBC Scotland that created the lion's share of referendum-related programming in Scotland. Marina Dekavalla's content analysis of 'all news and current affairs items about the referendum on *Reporting Scotland, STV News at Six, Scotland 2014* and *Scotland Tonight* as well as all special programmes' (2015:3) broadcast by BBC Scotland and STV in the last month of the campaign (conducted for the Economic and Social Research Council with findings published in 2015) shows that two thirds of the 64 hours of referendum coverage created in this period alone came from BBC Scotland. Further, the study shows that *Reporting Scotland* presented 123 news stories amounting to over 14 hours of television related to the campaign in this period (Dekavalla, 2015:3).

BBC Scotland's engagement with the referendum as a momentous event with the potential for huge viewing figures is reflected in the amount of additional investment and programming it dedicated to covering the campaign. Its Management Review 2014/15 reports that it broadcast more than 25 television programmes[94] relating to the referendum on BBC1 Scotland, BBC2 Scotland, BBC Alba and across the BBC's network services[95] with around 50 new temporary

[94] Listed in Appendix 1.

[95] It also broadcast a series of radio debates and documentaries, as well as providing online content for the Scotland Decides page of BBC News Online.

staff, including 14 graduate trainees, employed to produce over 55 hours[96] of additional television. Programmes included the second *Leaders' Debate*, along with ten televised debates from around the country, presented by BBC journalist James Cook. The final debate, entitled *The Big, Big, Debate*, broadcast live from the SSE Hydro in Glasgow on 11th September 2014 in front of an audience of 7,500 young voters eligible to vote for the first time[97]. It was, according to the BBC Annual Review 2014/15, the largest ever televised debate in the UK (BBC, 15:77). Other initiatives for first-time voters included the two-part documentary, *Being 16 in 2014* (BBC2, 2014) and the *Generation 2014* project which brought together 50 16-17 year olds from diverse backgrounds across Scotland (BBC Scotland, 15:7). According to the report, throughout 2014, the teenagers contributed to a wide range of BBC Scotland and network news programmes and the project was later extended, to allow young people from across the UK to be heard in the run-up to the 2015 General Election (ibid). The report also records the introduction of a new evening news and current affairs TV programme, *Scotland 2014*, which broadcast live from Pacific Quay four nights a week, hosted by broadcaster Sarah Smith for BBC2 Scotland[98].

The Commonwealth Games

In the summer of 2014, BBC Scotland also covered the Commonwealth Games, which were held in Glasgow between 23rd July and 3rd August. Glasgow welcomed athletes from 70 countries, with games held in venues across the city.[99] A cultural festival and a series of free events organised by the BBC, including a Radio 1 concert in the city centre and a screening of Virginia Heath's

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[96] Figure of 55 hours provided in interview by member of BBC Scotland's Archive department. Staff figures taken from BBC Scotland Management Review 2014/15

[97] *The Big, Big Debate* (BBC, 2014) https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p025h0z1

[98] 'Scotland 2014: BBC launches current affairs show in key year': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-27588686.

[99] Official website of 2014 Commonwealth Games. http://www.glasgow2014.com/

film *From Scotland with Love* on Glasgow Green with live musical accompaniment, made the city a vibrant, cosmopolitan place to be throughout the summer[100]. In an interview with *The Guardian* newspaper, Nicola Sturgeon spoke of the Games and accompanying festival creating a 'feelgood' factor which would boost confidence in Scotland, leading the interviewer to surmise that 'there is immense nationalist satisfaction at the staging of a successful and upbeat event at such a crucial moment' (Boffey, 2014)[101] The BBC Annual Report 2014/15 claims that 'record audiences watched the Games unfold on BBC television, with live coverage reaching 78% of the audience in Scotland – 3.7million people.' (BBC, 15:77) According to BBC Scotland's Management Review 2014/15, its coverage of the opening ceremony – which featured dancing Tunnocks Teacakes and Scottish Terriers dogs in tartan jackets[102] – was 'one of the most watched events of the last decade' attracting up to 1.8m viewers in Scotland and 9.3million across the UK. (BBC Scotland, 15:5).[103]

Referendum Unit

Most pertinent to this study is BBC Scotland's Referendum Unit, which was specially set up in 2013 and commissioned to produce 13 documentaries focusing on different aspects of the campaign and the questions about Scotland's future that the referendum raised (see appendix 2 for full list of documentaries).

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[100]Programme for Cultural festival held in Glasgow during the Commonwealth Games: https://issuu.com/creativescotland/docs/culture_2014_programme_guide

[101]Boffey, D (2014), 'Nicola Sturgeon: Commonwealth Games feelgood factor is a confidence boost for Yes campaign', *The Guardian:* https://www.theguardian.com/politics/2014/aug/02/nicola-sturgeon-commonwealth-games-confidence-boost-scotland-yes-independence

[102]The full opening event can be viewed on YouTube https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ZlYwNqixTig

[103]It is worth noting that the first series of the Sony Pictures time-travel drama, *Outlander (*2014-2020*),* released in 2014, was unable to secure a UK broadcaster until 2015. The first series is set in Scotland, 1745, the time of the Jacobite uprising against the monarchy. According to Zoë Shacklock's account of the troubled distribution (2016), although the reasoning behind the delayed release has never been disclosed, it was widely believed that the sympathy towards the Scottish Jacobites in *Outlander*'s narrative was the reason for the delay. Further she notes that a 2014 briefing memo from Sony Pictures implies that 'Cameron government stepped in to halt negotiations with terrestrial broadcasters' (2016:311). This indicates that politicians perceived television to play a pivotal role in shaping public opinion of the independence referendum.

According to Ian Small, BBC Scotland's Head of Public Policy and Corporate Affairs, the operational structure of the unit was divided into two groups to provide oversight. The first group was a day to day operational group, involving BBC Scotland senior managers, including the Director of BBC Scotland, Small, and news managers, to look at issues such as intended coverage, logistical issues and complaints. The second group was a business oversight group, tasked with looking at budget allocations. This group had a more strategic role relative to matching coverage with financial planning and space planning.[104] The unit was a unique department within the Pacific Quay headquarters in Glasgow, populated with a specially contracted team of journalists and programme makers from a variety of backgrounds including News, Current Affairs, Arts, Comedy and Sports. Some of the team were BBC staff members, while some had been brought in as freelancers, with cvs detailing work for a variety of other broadcasters.[105] John Mullin, the ex-editor of the *Independent on Sunday* newspaper, was brought in as head of the unit, with John Boothman, the then-Head of News and Current Affairs at BBC Scotland, being given final editorial approval of programme content. Marcus Ryder was the commissioning executive, approving and developing content, as well as overseeing the hiring of key staff and production of programmes. One of the directors hired was Brendan O'Hara, who had directed *Road to Referendum* for STV, and who, in 2015, became the SNP MP for

[104] Information given by Ian Small in email to me dated 15/05/19

[105] See appendix 2 for list of documentaries made by the Referendum Unit, and producer/directors working as part of the team. It is worth noting that in recent years the BBC has faced criticism about its gender pay gap and lack of diversity. As appendix 2 shows, out of the 13 documentaries produced, only one director was female, and one director was BAME. The documentary made by a female director*, Mibbes Aye, Mibbes Naw,* is the only documentary from the series not to appear on iPlayer as part of the Referendum Documentaries collection. I am not aware of the reason for this, but its absence means the collection presented is from an exclusively male viewpoint. It is also interesting to note, in view of the allegations of pro-union bias levelled at BBC Scotland during the campaign, that one of the directors, Brendan O'Hara, went on to become an SNP MP.

Argyle and Bute[106]. As well as the documentaries, the unit was given a remit to run a dedicated page on the BBC Scotland News Online website[107].

Marina Dekavalla's research into the reporting of referendums (2015, 2016) indicates that the way the media defines the decision involved in a referendum 'affects how people judge the possible outcomes of the options available' (2015:3). The output of the Referendum Unit reflects the framing of the referendum by politicians and broadcasters alike as a question of economics and identity. While Yes Scotland asked the electorate to have faith in Scotland's future as a small, oil-rich nation with a separate identity from the UK, Better Together focused on the potential negative impact on the nation's finances[108]. The issue of currency and concerns about the economy became central news topics covered by all the broadcasters, coming to a head on 13th February 2014, when UK Chancellor George Osborne gave a press conference in Edinburgh ruling out a formal currency union in the event of independence. During the press conference he stated, 'if Scotland walks away from the UK, it walks away from the UK pound'[109]. In an interview given for *How the Campaign Was Won* (BBC1 Scotland, 2014), Better Together campaign manager Blair McDougall discussed the importance of the currency question and Osborne's intervention to the success of the No campaign, claiming on camera, 'all conversations and focus groups would come back to fundamental questions of independence and what it would mean for the economy, and they all led back to currency.' Several of the documentaries made by the Referendum Unit focus on money,

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[106] 'Brendan O'Hara MP': https://www.parliament.uk/biographies/commons/brendan-o'hara/4371

[107] 'Q&A: Scottish independence referendum': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-13326310

[108] See Yes Scotland's *A Choice of Two Futures* released in March 2014 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4o6bNNsHzpE.
Better Together's *Why we are Better Together* released October 2012. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RxbAu3LphYM.

[109] 'Scottish independence: Yes vote means leaving pound says Osborne': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-26166794

with *What's in it for Me?* (focusing on the potential financial impact of independence on the Scottish public) and *Scotland's Top Ten Battlegrounds* (tackling the results of a BBC poll of the top ten questions the public had about the referendum) featuring questions about currency, finances, oil, and the economy. Meanwhile *5 Million Ways to Be Scottish* focuses on questions of identity, asking contributors what it means to be Scottish, while *Mibbes Aye* and *Mibbes Naw*, a fly-on-the-wall documentary series, follows members of the public over the course of six months, recording their reaction to news events as they make their minds up about which way to vote. Thus, the documentaries made by the Referendum Unit created a closed loop, reflecting, amplifying and influencing public opinion.

The resources dedicated to the Referendum Unit, and to coverage of the campaign and vote results, indicates not only the importance that BBC Scotland gave to the Scottish referendum, but also the value it gave to its own position within the campaign, as a public broadcaster providing an essential service to its audience, offering information about the topics under discussion during the campaign and a platform to debate those issues. According to the BBC Scotland Management Review 2014/2015, on the night of the vote, Radio Scotland, Radio nan Gaidheal, BBC Radio 4, Radio 5 and BBC World Service all ran results news programmes while BBC Scotland and the network both broadcast live results programmes from Pacific Quay throughout the night, with outside broadcast units reporting back from counting venues across the country as the results were declared. BBC One Scotland's results programme, *Scotland Decides* broadcast from Studio A, reaching '2.1m viewers in Scotland, 44% of population, with the majority of the audience in Scotland turning to the BBC to hear the outcome of the vote' (BBC Scotland, 15:4). Meanwhile the network TV results programme,

with Huw Edwards and Jeremy Vine, simultaneously broadcast live from Floors 2, 3, and 4 of the building (ibid). Both the BBC Scotland and network results programmes featured specially-built sets and video walls. Throughout the day on 18th September 2014, BBC Scotland staff could see the technical rehearsals underway on the 3rd floor Street in Pacific Quay, with 'Scotland Decides' and 'Yes/No' flashing up on the video screens as production crew prepared to broadcast Scotland's future.

2-6 Lighting and set tests at BBC Scotland 18th September 2014
(personal photographs, not to be reproduced without permission)

2-7 Selection of Referendum programmes on BBC iPlayer (screenshot from iPlayer ©BBC)

'BBC You are Sabotaging Democracy' sign (©Una Clive-Skilling), 'Boycott Biased

BBC Scotland and the Referendum.

As part of Dekavalla's research for the Economic and Social Research Council (2015), in the aftermath of the referendum broadcasters from the BBC and STV were invited to a one-day seminar to discuss coverage, and her report states that both broadcasters saw events such as the televised *Leaders' Debates* as a success, with one participant commenting, 'for us, this is where box office meets politics effectively…. People wanted to see it in a way that was entertaining as well as informative' **(**2015:6**).** Dekavalla reports that broadcasters attending the seminar considered their coverage of the referendum to be 'television's contribution to the democratic process' (ibid). However, Peter Geoghegan raises concerns about the media's role in the referendum. Claiming that media plays a pivotal role in 'producing and sustaining the illusion of the nation state' (2014:151), Geoghegan argues:

> When the nation-state itself is contested – as it is by definition during a referendum on secession – newspapers, radio, and television almost unwittingly buttress the status quo, the established nation-state, against the prospective breakaway nation (ibid).

It was this position which led to increasing tension between the BBC and sections of its audience who sought to disrupt the status quo by asserting Scotland's independence from the union. Geoghegan sums up this tension and a common discourse during the campaign, noting:

> even if the BBC had swamped the airwaves with SNP election broadcasts for months ahead of the referendum the very existence of a *British* Broadcasting Corporation was testament to the power of the idea of the United Kingdom as the legitimate nation-state (2014:151).

John Robertson's study of BBC Scotland and STV news coverage of the referendum campaign from September 2012 to September 2013, *Fairness in the First Year*? (2014), claimed that *Reporting Scotland* led with more negative news

stories about the Yes movement (challenging the status quo) than the No movement (upholding the nation state's status), which the BBC has rejected. However, the complaint was taken seriously by Scottish Parliament. On 11th March 2014, Robertson, Ken MacQuarrie, John Boothman, and John Mullin all appeared before the Scottish Parliament's Education and Culture Committee in Edinburgh to report on the findings of the study.[110] During questioning from MSPs, Robertson stated,

> My research shows a crude quantitative imbalance between the number of statements that have been reported that we could see as supportive of the yes campaign and those that we could see as supportive of the no campaign. I appreciate that there is a high degree of subjectivity in all that. All social, political and historical research is subjective [111]

The Convenor of the committee listed some of the BBC Scotland news statistics, noting,

> there were 211 pro-independence statements and 317 anti-independence statements; four pro-independence academic statements and 23 anti-independence academic statements; and there were 79 cases of an anti-pro order and 43 cases of a pro-anti order… I will not list them all, but in every single case in which the data can be compared, the numbers are greater on the no side than on the yes side[112]

MacQuarrie rejected the findings of the report, claiming:

> we have serious concerns with it that pertain in particular to elements of its methodology and factual accuracy, its findings and its conclusions. We believe that the report displays fundamental errors in all those areas and for that reason we question its validity'[113]

Throughout the campaign, pro-independence websites such as *Bella Caledonia*- *Wings Over Scotland*[114] and *Derekbateman.scot* analysed BBC news reports, along

[110] Full session can be viewed here: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GuQexAg19Iw

[111] Quote taken from transcript of Education and Cultural Committee Report. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GuQexAg19Iw

[112] ibid

[113] ibid

[114] It must be noted that *Wings Over Scotland* is itself a contentious website; Campbell has been involved in a defamation case in 2018, following accusations of a homophobic slur in one of his blog posts.

with newspaper articles about the referendum, offering counter-narratives. On 4th May 2014, *The Sunday Herald* declared its support for the Yes Campaign on its cover page on 4th May 2014. According to an ITV news report, it was 'the first paper to say yes'[115]. No other newspaper declared support for the Yes campaign. Although *How The Campaign Was Won* does not mention the parliamentary enquiry detailed above, onscreen interviews with Richard Walker, then-editor of *The National*, and Mike Small, editor of *Bella Caledonia*, deal with the tensions between the BBC and its viewers, as well as giving an account of the demonstrations outside Pacific Quay.

In June[116] and September[117] 2014, growing frustration over perceived bias led to protests outside BBC Scotland's headquarters at Pacific Quay in Glasgow. The largest demonstration was on 14th September, with the BBC reporting a crowd of approximately 1,000 independence supporters[118] gathering outside Pacific Quay. The protest was a direct result of a story on the network *BBC News* at 6 o'clock on 11th September in which the BBC's then-political editor, Nick Robinson, reported on a conference given by Alex Salmond to the international press earlier in the day. In his report, Robinson claimed that the First Minister did not answer a question he had asked about the Royal Bank of Scotland (RBS). However, several pro-independence activists had recorded the event on their smartphones. In the raw footage of the exchange between Robinson and Salmond, the journalist asks two questions. The first question is about the Royal Bank of Scotland, which Salmond answers. Then Robinson can be heard saying 'answer the question' about the second question, while Salmond

[115]'Scottish independence: Herald first paper to say yes': https://www.itv.com/news/update/2014-05-03/scottish-independence-herald-first-paper-to-say-yes/

[116]Scottish independence: hundreds protest over BBC bias': http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-28079812

[117] Scottish independence: crowds protest over BBC bias': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-29196912

[118] ibid

accuses him of heckling.[119] However, the broadcast report is edited to focus on the RBS question, with Robinson's voice-over saying 'he didn't answer the question'. According to a *Sunday Herald* newspaper report, 'The entire exchange immediately went viral on social media, leading to thousands of complaints to the BBC from pro-independence supporters about Robinson's reporting, calling for his resignation' (Taylor, 2015)[120]. Robinson himself later admitted 'there's no doubt at all that the phrasing of that report wasn't clever' (Taylor, 2015) and it offers an example of the potential of edit room decisions to affect cultural understanding of an event.

The incident illustrates the increasingly volatile relationship between the public service broadcaster and the public in Scotland during the referendum, which still has repercussions today. Evidence of the continuing strained relationship between public broadcaster and public can be seen in the pro-independence protests outside BBC Scotland in August 2018.[121] Further, the *Scotsman* newspaper reported in January 2019 that Scotland has the highest proportion of households failing to pay the licence fee in the UK[122]. Meanwhile, *The National* newspaper reported in January 2019 that the budget for the new

[119] Rushes of the entire press conference held in BBC Scotland's digital library. Programme ID ETDXWPTZVMZWMZEJ

[120] Taylor, M (2015), 'Nick Robinson on his referendum row with Alex Salmond and recovering from cancer', *The Herald:* http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/13598719.Nick_Robinson_on_his_referendum_row_with_Alex_Salmond_and_recovering_from_cancer/

[121] 'Crowd protests in Glasgow against BBC bias': https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-glasgow-west-45156289

[122] McCall, C (2019), 'Scotland has highest rate of BBC licence fee dodgers in UK', *The Scotsman*:

https://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/culture/tv-radio/scotland-has-highest-rate-of-bbc-licence-fee-dodgers-in-uk-1-4860326

BBC Scotland channel is less than the budget for the new EastEnders set,[123] and asked where Scotland lies in the list of priorities for the network.

Conclusion

This chapter has given an account of the BBC in Scotland and its coverage of the referendum campaign. In seeking to contextualise Scotland's journey to referendum, I have focused on specific events which contribute to what James Mitchell calls the Scottish Question, namely how does Scotland relate to the rest of the United Kingdom. Acknowledging that the roots of the referendum can be traced back centuries, this chapter focuses on the events set out in the programmes under discussion throughout this thesis, starting in the 1950s. It was in this decade that the BBC began broadcasting television programmes from Scotland, and in this chapter I have also considered the relationship between television and Scottish identity, exploring how this relationship played out in the growing appetite for devolution and independence.

It must be noted that the volume of debate during the referendum campaign about the BBC's coverage, and the continuing friction between the broadcaster and the public indicates that BBC Scotland still occupies a prominent position in Scottish life, and an integral role within the discourse about Scotland's past and future. The discourse about the 2014 referendum has the potential to continue for decades to come. As Mitchell points out, it may be years before we fully understand its significance and how it impacts on the Scottish Question:

[123]Paterson, K (2018), 'BBC spends more on Eastenders set than new Scottish Channel, *The National*: https://www.thenational.scot/news/17294107.bbc-spends-more-on-eastenders-set-than-new-scottish-channel

> how it will affect identities, its public policy consequences, the system of government, the party system, and Scotland's relations with the rest of the United Kingdom' (2014).

Meanwhile, Higgins assesses the importance of the referendum for the BBC, noting:

> how the BBC responds in the long term is crucial, not just for the population of Scotland, but for everyone in the UK. Its actions will go beyond narrow questions of broadcasting policy and into the realms of nationhood and identity, of which the BBC is such a profoundly important carrier (2015:209).

It is therefore essential to study the contested material BBC Scotland holds in its archive and consider the impact it might have on the narrative the broadcaster constructs about the campaign and its own role in it.

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Chapter 3: 'Scotland's Smoking Gun (*BBC1 Scotland, 2014)*

In the introduction to this thesis I reflected on Craig William's claim that in television production 'you're always scripting to pictures'. In response to Williams' statement, this chapter considers the pivotal role that television archive material plays in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* (BBC2 Scotland, 2014), used not only as the scaffolding upon which an onscreen narrative is built, but also as a bridge between past and present. Influenced by Pierre Nora's concept of modern memory as 'reliant on the exterior scaffolding of archive material' (1989:13), I will explore the ways in which the television archive material in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* is used to construct a narrative about the past, memorialising specific events and thus creating audiovisual lieux de memoires, which Nora describes as sites for the memorialisation of public and private memories, where 'memory crystallizes and secretes itself' (1989:7). As Astrid Erll argues, this memorialisation, 'creating and stabilising certain narratives and icons of the past' (2010: 393) works to solidify specific narratives about the past in cultural memory. Throughout this chapter I will also argue that the choice and composition of television archive within the programme creates a framework for an audience in 2014 to consider the contemporary constitutional crisis in Scotland, encouraging them to view the present political situation through the prism of cultural memory and social history.

Alison Landsberg argues that what we see on screen has the power to shape how we feel about the past, asserting that 'film can create and convey something like period truths' (2015:26). Similarly, Jamie Baron argues that

archive material on screen works to create an experience of pastness for the viewer, in that 'the past seems to become not only knowable but also *perceptible* in these images' (2014:1). Simon Schama asserts that programme makers exploit the 'plasticity and poetics' (2004:29) of television archive material to create this experience of pastness, manipulating the material in edited sequences or using different formats such as black and white film, to create specific emotional and cognitive responses to the iteration of the past presented on screen. In this chapter I will therefore explore how the plasticity and poetics of television archive material is used to create a specific sense of pastness which supports the programme's narrative in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*. Taking inspiration from John Corner's theory of the historical imaginary and his approach to archival aesthetics in his 2006 study of *Wisconsin Death Trip* (James Marsh 1999), I will focus on the formal aspects of *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, considering how archival footage, sound, and voice-over are used to create a link between Scotland's past and present. Myra Macdonald argues that the representation of memory on screen in television history programmes 'is frequently manufactured by commentary and editing conventions (2006:337), and I will also explore how tropes such as montage sequences and eye witness accounts work to act out memory on screen, in order to construct a specific iteration of the past.

Scotland's Smoking Gun (BBC2 Scotland)

First broadcast on BBC2 Scotland at 9pm on 28th January 2014, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* was the Referendum Unit's flagship documentary, and the first programme I worked on as the archive producer within the unit. It opened the unit's series of thirteen films which were shown on BBC Scotland until October

2014 (see appendix 1)[124] Although *Scotland's Smoking Gun* was transmitted as part of the BBC's schedule of 'opt out' programmes, (meaning only viewers in Scotland could watch it as it was broadcast) it was made available on the BBC iPlayer for a year after its first transmission in order to give viewers around the UK the opportunity to watch it. An hour in length and composed almost entirely from BBC Scotland television archive material, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* offers a 60-minute journey through 70 years of Scottish (and some world) history from 1945 to 2014. The programme's premise is that there are interlinking causal events in Scotland's modern history which led to the 2014 referendum. Using a timeline format, it picks out specific events from this period in a chronological order and builds a narrative around them to substantiate its thesis. The events set out in the programme as 'smoking gun' moments or milestones on the journey towards the independence referendum are; the appropriation of the Stone of Destiny from Westminster Abby; Elvis and the birth of the teenager; Winnie Ewing's surprise win in the Hamilton by-election in 1967 gaining the SNP a seat in Westminster; economic decline in the 1970s and the UCS work-in; the discovery and production of oil in the North Sea; Margo MacDonald's surprise win for the SNP in the 1973 Govan by-election; the 1979 referendum on devolution; Margaret Thatcher; the 1997 referendum on devolution; the 1999 Scottish Election and reconvening of parliament; the opening of Holyrood as the new home for Scottish parliament; the Iraq war; the election victory for the SNP in the 2007 Scottish Elections; the landslide win for the SNP in the 2011 Scottish Elections; and the 2012 Edinburgh Agreement (*illustration 3-2*).

[124] Although *Scotland's Smoking Gun* was the first documentary to be broadcast by the Referendum Unit, it is now listed as the second from the series of thirteen documentaries, as *Our Friends in the North* (which was made before the unit was set up) has been added as number one. *Mebbes Aye, Mebbes Naw* (which was originally the twelfth documentary in the series) has been removed from the BBC iPlayer, meaning there are still thirteen documentaries listed in the current Referendum Documentaries collection on the iPlayer.

The visual style of *Scotland's Smoking Gun* has a similar format to *The Rock 'n' Roll Years,* an archive-based history series which was broadcast on the BBC from 1985 to 1994. Each 30-minute episode of *The Rock 'n' Roll Years* was dedicated to a particular year, presenting archive clips of news items, dramas, comedies, and sporting events from the period, edited to a soundtrack of popular music from the featured year. Similarly, the timeline presented in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* is divided into decades, with on-screen graphics indicating the era (the 1950s, the 1960s, the 1970s etc) from 1950 to 2014. These sections all open and end with a montage sequence of events from the decade, cut to a soundtrack of popular music from the period. Each decade is illustrated with television archive footage depicting a milestone on the road to referendum (such as the 1979 referendum, or Margaret Thatcher's government), intercut with clips from television programmes such as *The White Heather Club* (BBC Scotland 1958-68*), The Cheviot, The Stag and the Black, Black Oil (*BBC Scotland 1974*),* and *Rab C Nesbitt (*BBC Scotland 1988-2014). There are also music performances from artists including Lulu, David Bowie, Simple Minds, and the Proclaimers. Sporting events are represented by clips of England winning the 1966 football World Cup and Scotland playing football in the 1978 World Cup. However, while *The Rock 'n' Roll Years* dispenses with a narrator or interviewees, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* incorporates both. Scottish actress Clare Grogan provides the voice over for the programme, narrating and contextualising the events portrayed onscreen. Eyewitness accounts of the milestones set out in the programme are provided by onscreen interviews with politicians, activists and political journalists who were involved with the events under discussion. Contributors include retired Conservative MP, Teddy Taylor; broadcaster and ex-Bishop of Edinburgh, Richard Holloway; SNP cabinet minister, Alex Neil; Labour MP, Baroness Helen Liddle; Margo MacDonald SNP MP and independent MSP;

journalist Kevin McKenna; academic and journalist Gerry Hassan; MSP Dorothy-Grace Elder; and Alan Cochrane, the editor of the *Scottish Telegraph* newspaper. The interviews were shot in BBC Scotland's television studio in the Pacific Quay building, Glasgow, at the end of 2013. The interviewer is off-camera and not heard, with the interviewees framed in a mid-shot against a bright white background (a figurative and symbolic blank screen). Occasionally black text flashes up on the white background, made up of words or short sentences from the speech being given by the interviewee, acting as a visual punctuation or emphasis (illustration *3-5*).

The stylistic devices employed in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* - archive footage, montages, eyewitness accounts, a soundtrack from the period under investigation - are all common televisual tropes which have been used to introduce viewers to the past in programmes such as *Scotland on Film* (BBC1 Scotland, 2007)[125] and *Scotland's Home Movies* (BBC1 Scotland, 2015)[126] as well as *The Rock 'n' Roll Years*. Robert Dillon argues that 'what television history produces is a socially constructed reality understood by both programme-makers and TV-users' (2010:29) and it can be assumed that the incorporation of these elements in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* would indicate to viewers a journey into the past in which personal and public events are connected. The next section deals with the journey format of the programme, considering how it operates to establish a connection between the past and present in the public consciousness.

[125] *Scotland on Film* (BBC1 Scotland, 2007*)* was a history series focusing on ordinary Scottish life in the 20th century, combining archive footage with eyewitness testimony.

[126] *Scotland's Home Movies* (BBC1 Scotland and BBC4, 2015), advertised on BBC Scotland as 'Scotland's memories on film', is a three-part archive-based series focusing on the history of home-movies in Scotland, in which members of the public are re-introduced to their family's history via home movies which had not previously been developed or viewed for years. The series was nominated for a Bafta in 2015.

The Journey in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*

John Corner claims that history on film and television is 'a kind of chair-based travel' 2006:291) in that it presents a virtual journey wherein the past and present are 'configured and made subject to assessment' (2006:291). In *Scotland's Smoking Gun,* television archive footage is aligned and configured onscreen to create a temporal journey in the form of a timeline of cause-and-effect events leading up to the 2014 referendum. This format is used to facilitate chair-based travel through 70 years of Scottish history. Conceptually, the programme is similar to the journey in the BBC history series, *Who Do You Think You Are?* (BBC1, 2004-onwards) in which celebrities engage with archive material in order to discover their ancestry. There is an obvious physical difference between the format of *Scotland's Smoking Gun* and *Who Do You Think You Are?* in that the former is only a temporal journey, whilst the latter is geographical as well, with celebrities travelling across the world as well as back in time. However, the concept of 'meet the ancestors' is present in both programmes. Indeed, Amy Holdsworth's account of the way in which *Who Do You Think You Are?* employs 'personal memory and emotional revelation' (2011:65) to 'reimagine British identity through the investigations of personal history, memory and identity' (2011:94) can also be applied to the journey into the past undertaken *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, in that interviewee's eyewitness accounts and personal memory are combined with archival material in order to assimilate notions of personal and national identity. I will explore the layering effect of archive and eyewitness testimony in more detail later in the chapter, but Margo MacDonald's onscreen interview gives an example of the mixing of personal and national past within the timeline. Her surprise win for the SNP in the Govan by-election of 1974 is established as a political milestone in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*

but is also given a personal element with her onscreen recollection of the event. Laughing, she remembers 'they didn't bother having a count, they just weighed the counts. Save public money!' Similarly, the sequence presenting rock 'n' roll as a step towards questioning authority, is intercut with the Conservative MP Teddy Taylor (born in 1937) visibly wincing at the memory. 'Oh, I didn't like it', he states on camera, 'I didn't think it was associated with the right ideas'.

The conceptual journey in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* is also physically represented onscreen with archival footage incorporating movement. A pre-credit montage sequence physically and figuratively starts with a bang - a shot of a flare gun firing towards a gushing oil rig - and every shot in the montage has movement in it. People are seen marching, dancing, protesting and running within the frame, and the sense of movement is reinforced by camera pans and zooms within the clips. The timeline of the programme is established in this sequence, with the bang of the flare gun triggering a sequence of clips from the key events presented throughout the programme; rock 'n' roll teenagers, oil, the 1979 referendum, Margaret Thatcher, the 1997 referendum, Blair, Dewar, and Scottish parliament, as well as clips of marches and celebrations, pop stars and sporting success. Clips are edited together at a fast pace, lingering only for a few seconds on each shot, creating the impression of movement and passion (*illustration 3-3*).

As time passes on a temporal level in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* it also changes on a material level, with the choice of archive material and the editing style changing for each decade. A slow and steady pace for the 1950s reflects the narrative about deference to the Establishment, while crash zooms cut to the beat of pop music in the 1960s represent youthful rebellion. Archive clips featuring hand-held camera footage of scuffles and protests in the 1970s and

1980s illustrate the narrative of a nation divided while the 1990s and 2000s are covered by montage, with the last 25 years covered in just 15 minutes. The speeding-up of the timeline suggests that Scotland's journey towards 2014 is both inevitable and unstoppable; a nation on the move, running towards its future. However, although archive material is used to show movement and indicate travel, the end result is to create a fixed narrative, in that the intricacies, nuances, and loose ends of 70 years of history are condensed into a one hour programme with a beginning, middle, and end, held together by a series of interlinked events. The journey format helps to stabilise the past onscreen and in public consciousness by presenting an easily understood format of cause-and-effect/problem-and-resolution which Dillon claims 'has become a central device of television history' (2010:15), thus shaping public understanding of the event.

Archival Aesthetics

Editing and manipulation of the television archive material in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* plays a pivotal role in constructing the narrative about Scotland's journey to referendum presented onscreen and in structuring the viewer's response to that narrative. Television scholars have written extensively on technique and affect (Caldwell (1995), Corner (1999, 2003, 2006), Holdsworth (2011), Macdonald (2006) and Sobchack (2002)) and their findings on the ways in which montage, format, eyewitness accounts, voice and sound guide the audience emotionally and cognitively can be applied to *Scotland's Smoking Gun*. Therefore, this section considers how these elements are used to create a specific emotional and cognitive response within the programme in order to forge a connection between Scotland's past and present in the public consciousness.

Montage

The montage sequences in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* can be regarded as the physical manifestation of Pierre Nora's description of archive as the scaffolding of memory (1989), in that they provide a visual framework upon which the programme narrative is constructed. Composed of a selection of news items, BBC programmes, music performances and sporting events edited to music specific to the period they relate to, montages are used throughout the programme as markers at the beginning and end of each decade, providing a visual introduction to each section and a re-cap of the events and ideas under discussion. These montage sequences function as a visual shorthand to signpost elements of the past with broad brush strokes. For example, shots of hippies dancing at festivals, wearing bright clothes, and taking hallucinogens are edited together to denote the Love Generation. By presenting a version of the past which is easy to access and interpret - creating what Amy Holdsworth describes as an 'appropriate sense of pastness' (2011:98) – montage sequences in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* provoke a sense of 'historical consciousness' (Sobchack) for the viewer.

Specific images are often repeated in montage sequences across the programme. For example, clips of teenagers are repeated in the sequences at the start and the end of the '50s section, clips of miners and Thatcher are repeated in the '80s montages, and footage of Blair and the 1997 Devolution campaign are repeated in the '90s section in order to emphasise the programme's narrative that these people and events are important plot points in Scotland's story. This repetition creates a canon of specific images and events from the past. Further, the canonised version of the past presented in these montage sequences – in which the past, with all its complications, contradictions

and uncertainties is whittled down to a few carefully edited images creating a sense of order and meaning – illustrates both John Corner's concept of the historical imaginary and John Caldwell's ideas about historical exhibitionism. Corner's description of the historical imaginary as 'an engagement with the historical' (2006:294) wherein 'imaginative constructions' (ibid) such as aesthetics are a primary element is reflected in the archive montage sequences. Assembled in an edit room from archive clips chosen for their aesthetic value in visually signposting a specific narrative about the past, the montage sequences in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* display a version of the past which Caldwell describes as historical exhibitionism or historicity in that 'the disembodied signs of history' are presented on screen 'rather than history itself' (1995:164-166). The visual pleasure to be gained from watching these montage sequences, selected to 'hold the viewer's gaze' (Wheatley, 2016:2), also serves as a distraction from the historicity presented in place of a nuanced investigation of the past. As Helen Wheatley puts it in her analysis of 'spectacular' television, 'the viewer is not watching television in a distracted way'[127] (2016:148) but rather they are so absorbed in the visual pleasure of the image that they are 'distracted instead from critically engaging with key issues such as national identity' (ibid). By presenting certain images as being representative of a specific time or event in the past, the montage sequences in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* become both a source of 'historical awakening' and a 'site meant for the construction of hegemonic consensus' (Sobchack, 2002:93). In other words, the montages in S*cotland's Smoking* Gun facilitate easy access to the past, but it is a constructed, formulaic iteration of the past.

[127] John Ellis argues in *Visible Fictions* that television is the medium of distraction, and 'cannot assume the same level of attention from its viewers that cinema can from its spectators (1982:115). Wheatley argues against this premise in *Spectacular Television* (2016), arguing the case for 'the image on television which holds the viewer's gaze (2016:2)

Formats

Throughout *Scotland's Smoking Gun* different televisual aesthetics are used to denote a specific time period. For example, 16mm black and white archive footage is predominant in the 1950s section, while the 1960s section utilises colourful home movies and pop performances. Meanwhile, the struggles of the 1970s and 1980s, along with the move towards devolution in the 1990s and the political restructuring of the noughties are represented by news footage. The texture of film and television formats from different decades is also used to give visual resonance to specific narratives about the past presented in the programme. For example, the re-appropriation of the Stone of Destiny is established as the first milestone on Scotland's journey towards the 2014 referendum, presented as rebellion against the status quo which would lead to a questioning of authority and the Establishment in Scotland. British Pathe newsreel footage[128] tells the story, with a report from the scene of the crime at Westminster Abbey. The staccato delivery of the male newscaster's report, in perfect RP English, and the ponderous shots of damaged stonework convey a sense of stuffy, hierarchical 1950s Britain, where a lack of deference to the monarch and Westminster was considered shocking. The pastness of the event is evoked by the ponderous newsreel camerawork and the pop, hiss, and crackle of primitive sound recording equipment. However, recycling this footage within *Scotland's Smoking Gun,* thus reconstituting it in the present, creates a resonance between past and present. On screen, a finger points accusingly at

[128] In the next chapter I will focus on how creative decisions and production constraints shape the iteration of the past presented on screen. However, it is worth noting here that the British Pathe footage of the Stone of Destiny offers an example of the role factors such as cost and budget play in influencing the decision-making process. I worked with the programme's director to source archive material for this sequence, and the decision to use the British Pathe footage was influenced by time-management considerations. Sourcing the BBC news footage covering the incident would have meant a time-consuming process of tracing paperwork from Written Archives, arranging for the master tape to be released from vaults in London and delivered to Glasgow, then digitising footage. In contrast, the British Pathe footage was already digitised and cleared for use, available to download instantly from its website.

the seat in Westminster from which an icon of Scottish power has been removed, forging a connection between the past and the present situation of Scottish viewers in 2014, considering whether or not their current level of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with 'London Rule'[129] necessitated returning power to Scotland.

Similarly, a sequence describing the importance of the Declaration of Perth[130], is illustrated with black and white archive footage of the Conservative conference in Perth, followed by black and white archive shots of older men and women in conservative attire looking stern and staid. This suddenly cuts to brightly coloured home movie footage from the 1960s of a young man and woman outside the Happaranda coffee bar in Dundee, running towards the camera and smiling. The young man jumps for joy as the woman laughs.

This moment is a visually eloquent example of how the texture of film can be exploited to:

> approximate the cognitive wiring we use when we summon up memories, both public and private; often a state of half-dreaming, self-reminiscence, not in any event, in neither case, in sharp, brilliantly crystalline focus. (Schama 2004:29).

The footage is a moment of visual and cognitive disruption, flashing across the screen for a few seconds like a half-recalled memory. In slow motion the fashionably dressed young woman runs towards the camera, smiling at whoever is behind the lens. Meanwhile, behind her, the young man, holding an opened umbrella jumps for joy and grins at the camera. The intimate smile to the lens and the slight wobble of the hand-held shot along with the graininess of the super-8 film and the slow-motion effect add to the dreamlike quality of the clip. Clare Grogan's voice-over makes no specific reference to the clip, furthering the feeling of disruption, but her narrative – 'Scottish politics received a shot in the

[129] End London Rule was a slogan often used by pro-Independence groups during the referendum campaign.

[130] Conservative PM Edward Heath pledged to support some form of Scottish self-governance at the Scottish Conservative Party Conference in Perth in 1968

arm' - guides the viewer to make a cognitive and emotional connection between the visual burst of youthful exuberance on screen disrupting the dull, monochromatic sequence of events preceding it, and the proposal in the programme's narrative that 1960s Scotland experienced a political and social youthquake which would lead to a growing confidence about Scotland's ability to rule itself.

This visual and cognitive tangling can be seen as a textual manifestation of Marita Sturken's concept of cultural memory as memory which is 'entangled with cultural products and imbued with cultural meaning' (1997:3). It also reflects her account of how memory technologies are used to facilitate the flow of memory between the private and cultural sphere (2008). The coffee bar footage is a moment of youthful exuberance captured for prosperity on a home movie camera, perhaps intended to be shown to friends and family, which has been re-purposed and re-contextualized in a BBC Scotland television history programme in a different century to make a point about Scottish politics in the 1960s. It provides an evocative example of the way in which archive material can be used to connect public and private histories, and a testament to its power as a tool for shaping cultural memories, and therefore the narrative by which a culture understands its past.

The ways in which television archive material can be used as visual grammar and a source of cognitive and emotional manipulation, is also evident in the sequence dedicated to the 1980s in which Margaret Thatcher's Conservative government plays a key role. In order to explain why the 'democratic deficit' was a key part of the debate between pro-Independence and pro-Union groups in the 2014 referendum, Margaret Thatcher is portrayed as the instigator of a set of policies which divided the UK into rich and poor, North

and South, Scotland and England. This division framework is set up visually and verbally by Kevin McKenna's on-screen assertion that Scotland and England in the 1980s were going in different directions (on-screen text spells out the words 'different' and direction' behind his head, to emphasise his point). To support this idea, the programme sets out a narrative of Scotland under attack from Thatcher's economic policies with a montage sequence which intercuts footage of dole queues and industrial decline with city traders and images of luxury. It then segues from footage of a young Alex Salmond denouncing Thatcher's government as a 'government of occupation with an army at our back' to news footage of violent clashes between police and miners, strike action and anti-Thatcher protests (including 'Maggie Maggie Maggie Out Out Out'). The Eurythmics song, *Thorn in my Side* on the soundtrack reinforces the notion of unwelcome occupation. Similarly, personal testimony is used to shape the narrative of the Conservative government generally, and Margaret Thatcher personally, being unwelcome in Scotland. Both Helen Liddell and Margo MacDonald recount watching Thatcher's Sermon on the Mound[131] with disgust, incredulous at her attempt to sanctify the pursuit of wealth. These eyewitness accounts operate to confirm the veracity of the programme's narrative that Thatcher was reviled in Scotland, but as discussed elsewhere in the chapter, these testimonies do not necessarily reflect every version of the past. Although the Conservative MP Teddy Taylor's opinions are heard throughout the rest of the programme, his voice is conspicuously absent from this section as his account might conflict with the programme's narrative that Thatcher was universally hated in Scotland.

[131]Sermon on the Mound – in 1988 Margaret Thatcher addressed the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on the spiritual justification for her economic policies.

Eyewitness accounts

Eyewitness accounts are used throughout *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, and, as Erin Bell (2010) observes, the combination of archive material and eyewitness testimony is a powerful tool for shaping audience response. Indeed, she invests eyewitness accounts with an 'auratic power', in that, although the testimony is 'reproduced through a mass medium… viewers are encouraged… to see those who testify as authentic, authoritative and unique' (2010: 77). Furthermore, 'even if they do not share the same physical space, the testifier appears in the audience's home. Television in this domestic context, although a mass medium, is intimate, personal and participatory' (2010:78). Combining archive material with personal testimony in the shape of eyewitness accounts and voice-overs in order to establish a narrative about the past which makes sense of the present offers an evocative allusion to Halbwachs' concept of collective memories being created by cultural and generational groups passing on stories (1992 [1952]).

The juxtaposition of archival material with oral history/eyewitness account in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* encourages the viewer to think of what they are watching as 'truthful' 'personal' and 'participatory', the past interacting with the present. However, there is a potential danger of history on television problematizing memory, in that memory needs moments of eruption and disruption to occur in order to imbed in our consciousness. But television, with its reliance on scripting and editing, works to smooth out moments of disruption. As Myra Macdonald notes,

> documentary's stress on pace, visual interest and narrative structure constrains the space for memory work that might throw up Benjamin's 'moments of danger'. Remembering has its own unfolding pace, but television, unlike film, still adheres to the staccato-style imperative of the viewer's glance. In the rapid sequencing of segmented memory sound-bites and archive glimpses, accompanied by fragments of diegetic

> or non-diegetic… sound, the kaleidoscope of images distracts us from… involvement in the process of remembering (2006:344).

According to Macdonald, as 'archive and eyewitness' documentaries are often edited into easily accessible formats such as 30min or 1-hour programmes, this means they 'tend to smooth away the rough edges of potential moments of disruption or tension in memory evocation (2006:344**)**. In *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, the scripted voice-over combines with the eyewitness testimony of the interviewees to contextualise and explain the images on screen, smoothing out the eruption and disruption of memory to make a neat timeline of history within the programme. Even though the interviewees were eyewitnesses to the past from opposing ends of the political spectrum, their testimony is edited together to form a cohesive argument within the framework of the programme. For example, although Teddy Taylor expresses distaste for rock n' roll, he does not contradict the programme's theory about the role it played in Scotland's journey to referendum. Similarly, Alan Cochrane, the Scottish Editor of *The Telegraph* newspaper, who has been publicly antagonistic towards the SNP, testifies that changing the name of the Scottish governing body from 'Scottish Executive' to 'Scottish Government' upon winning the Scottish Parliamentary Elections in 2007 was a smart move on the part of the SNP. The overall effect of these contradictory voices agreeing on the version of history being set out, is to establish a hegemonic narrative of the past. The fact that the interviewees in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* are recounting their memories of their role in the history presented by the programme further adds to the impression that the narrative put forward by the programme is conclusive and universally agreed upon.

An interesting example of the layering of archive and eyewitness testimony in order to connect national and personal history onscreen, and to

establish the veracity of the narrative, is evidenced in the depiction of the arrival of the nuclear submarine, Polaris, at the Holy Loch on the west coast of Scotland in 1961. Against the soundtrack of the protest song *We Shall Not Be Moved* and the original news presenter's report on the 'cockleshell heroes', black and white archive BBC news footage shows protestors in canoes pulling alongside the submarine and one protestor climbing up its side, braving water cannons to get to the top, while police clash with demonstrators staging a sit-in, picking up one man up and then throwing him to the ground. The choice of imagery and soundtrack is powerful in conveying its message of conflict between 'the state' and 'the people', but not particularly original. Indeed, it fits Macdonald's description of the conflict trope in archive films, in which:

> images of protest demonstrations, predominantly in monochrome, set 'ordinary people' against the forces of the state and include a customary mix of aerial images and action shots of confrontation on the ground. (Macdonald, 2006: 340).

However, the personal testimony of former SNP MSP for Glasgow, Dorothy Grace Elder, gives a unique angle to the sequence. She tells an anecdote about an activist and a member of the submarine crew falling in love during the protest and getting married. Images of protest combine with personal anecdote to convey the impression that the political is personal. In Scotland, the sequence suggests, politics and passion, activism and family life, are all intertwined, part of the nation's lifeblood.

Of course, as Macdonald implies, these testimonies are cut down, moved around and re-purposed in an edit suite to fit the narrative of the programme, problematizing its impression of veracity. In her assessment of archive programmes, she notes that 'it is rare for interviewees to be granted more than a maximum of one to two minutes of airtime before an edit diverts us to some other source (2006:331). Often in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, testimony is cut up

into sound-bites and edited back together as a storyline. Thus, the pro-Independence MP and MSP, Margo MacDonald is described by a variety of voices in a moment of audio layering as 'a star', 'a blonde bombshell', 'charismatic', 'working class', and 'something new', the complexities of her personality boiled down to a few buzzwords.

The interview with Margo MacDonald herself is a compelling illustration of Myra Macdonald's thoughts on the performative nature of eyewitness testimony. Commentating on a sequence about the importance of her landslide victory in the Govan by-election of 1973, when she took the seat for the SNP in what had traditionally been a Labour stronghold, Margo recalls an encounter with a London journalist who accused her of selfishness for wanting independence. Over a series of archive shots depicting Govan slum tenements, children playing in the street and out-of-work dockers hanging around on the streets in the 1970s, she recounts the conversation with the journalist word for word, her voice shaking with anger at the memory. Inhabiting Annette Kuhn's 'past/present' mode of performing memory in which 'informants, usually unaware of doing so, shift or 'shuttle' back and forth between past and present standpoints' (Kuhn 2002: 10) MacDonald repeats what she told the journalist,

> 'I said, "You come with me. We'll go five minutes *anywhere* from where we're standing and you tell me if I'm still selfish" And he got the fright of his life, because he hadn't realised just how drastic it was.'

MacDonald's memory of her personal and emotional response to the poverty her constituents were living in, and the outside world's lack of awareness about the drastic situation in Glasgow, is edited over emotive images of decline in Govan, compelling the audience to believe her version of events. The purpose of the sequence is to create a cognitive and emotional connection for the audience between the past and the present situation. Images of

unemployment and declining industry forge a connection with the present concerns of 2014, when voters were asked by the Yes and No campaigns to consider the impact of Independence on the Scottish economy, governance, industry and employment. Interestingly, MacDonald recounts the same story, almost word for word in *Road to Referendum* (STV, 2013), with a similar montage of archive clips illustrating her point, indicating the performative nature of memory in both the public and personal sphere. The intensely emotional quality of her recollection is both affective and effective, its repetition across two programmes and two broadcasters works to sediment the personal and political in the narrative about the past constructed on the television screen, and, further, to embed this narrative into cultural memory. It also illustrates Dillon's comment, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, that television history is a construction of reality which both the programme-maker and the viewer understand (2010:29). MacDonald's almost identical account of the event for two different programmes indicates that she and the programme-makers understand what works for presenting history on television.

Voice/Sound

According to Myra Macdonald, 'recollections of the past become part of the struggle over identity and the claiming of the voice' (2006:330), and voices from the past play an intriguing role in the construction of history in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*. It can be argued that Clare Grogan's voice is loaded with cultural meaning which in turn shapes the meaning of the voice-over script she delivers. Best remembered as the lead singer in the Scottish '80s pop band, Altered Images, and for her leading role in the teenage romance, *Gregory's Girl* (Bill Forsyth, 1981), Grogan is associated with quirky Scottish pop culture and Forsyth's vision of ordinary Scottish life played out in a housing scheme in

Cumbernauld. The pop culture associations and the jokey tone of voice Grogan adopts in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* add a kitsch quality to her voice-over. As Marita Sturken suggests, kitsch objects

> proscribe particular emotional responses and promise to make consumers feel better – and they are also memory objects that participate in a set of narratives about the innocence of the nation' (2008:76).

Grogan's voice, then, along with the deliberately jokey script - advising the viewer to 'snuggle up' and enjoy the programme, and the disclaimer that 'it won't be all about politics' - can be read as a device to comfort the audience, welcoming them in to the campaign and reassuring them in a time of cultural and political upheaval[132].

Throughout *Scotland's Smoking Gun* the original voices from news reports, interviews and cultural programmes are used as an additional layer of narrative. The changing nature of those accents and dialects speak of Scotland beginning to find its own voice. For example, in the section of the programme covering the 1950s the voices on archive clips of news items are uniformly male, middle class and English. Indeed, an archive clip from one of the first news bulletins broadcast from BBC Scotland television studios features a presenter announcing 'here is the Scottish news' with a perfect RP English accent. The Scottish voice isn't just missing from the news, it is absent in nearly all the archival footage on screen chosen to represent the 1950s and 1960s; the teddy boys are English; the hippies are from San Francisco; Twiggy, presented as the iconic image of the 1960s, is a Londoner. When the Scottish voice is first heard in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* it is in a black and white clip from the *White Heather Club* (1958-68) featuring Andy Wilson in a kilt and Moira Anderson in an evening gown,

[132] As the level of Scottish public engagement with the referendum was unprecedented there is also scope for a counter-reading of the voice-over script as being patronising to an audience who were already well-versed in the principle arguments around the referendum and didn't need to be reassured that the programme wouldn't be 'all politics'.

singing about a tractor, performing a stereotype of Scottishness. Further, although Grogan's voice-over proclaims a surge in popularity for Scottish pop culture on the world stage during the sixties, the images onscreen are almost exclusively of Scottish pop singer Lulu, with a few shots of Sean Connery peppered throughout the sequence. Indeed, in the only clip of Lulu speaking in the sequence, she is putting on an RP English accent for comic effect. Grogan talks of a Scottish Renaissance, but the repeated footage of Lulu, implies a lack of diversity rather than a renaissance [133]. The creation of this sequence was hampered due to a tight editing schedule, and in the next chapter I will explore in more detail how production practices and material constraints can impact on the visual narrative presented on screen.

In accordance with the narrative presented in the programme that the 1970s saw the beginnings of a divided nation and a growing opposition between power and the people, Scottish voices begin to emerge in the archive clips chosen to cover this period within the programme. Grogan's narrative of 'unity and community born out of adversity' is illustrated by archive news footage of the bin strikes in Glasgow in 1975; in the archive clip a striking bin-man pleads with a soldier sent to dispose of rubbish piled high on the streets, "We're asking you to co-operate with the working class. Same as you are. You're a worker". Similarly, Richard Holloway gives on-screen testimony that through adversity in the 1970s Scotland began to speak for itself, "as a community finding a voice, and a very eloquent voice". This is intercut with archive news footage of Jimmy Reid's famous speech to the workers at the Upper Clyde Shipbuilders yard in 1971, announcing the commencement of the UCS work-in. Aware that news

[133] Limited budget and a very fast turnaround with a tight production schedule meant there was not enough time to find footage, order up masters and ingest them into avid for use in the edit room. The tight editing schedule also meant that the director and editor rushed through several sequences in order to finish the programme. The Lulu sequence is a case in point. With more edit time, and more choice, the sequence could have been improved on.

cameras are recording his speech, Reid announces to a yard full of workers, "the world is watching us and it is our responsibility to conduct ourselves responsibly and with maturity". The inclusion of Reid's speech works to establish a connection between the past and present, his advice that the world is watching potentially resonating with an audience considering Scotland's place on the world stage in 2014.[134] Similarly, a narrative of the growing confidence of the Scottish voice in questioning the Establishment is constructed visually by cross-cutting between archive footage of Margaret Thatcher regally referring to herself and her Scottish 'subjects' as 'we in Scotland', with Canon Kenyon Wright's, rebuttal "What if that other single voice we all know so well responds by saying, 'We say No, We are the state.' Well We say Yes and We are the People".

It is an interesting reminder of the role that media institutions play in creating not just cultural memory but the dominant discourse around it, that in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* the majority of the voices from the past, and indeed all the voices of power (with the exception of Margaret Thatcher) in the archival footage are white and male. Even though Winnie Ewing and Margo MacDonald are presented as key political figures in the programme's timeline, in the footage chosen to represent them, they are mute. The footage of Jimmy Reid's speech shows a yard full of male workers; the women in the yard who were just as essential to the UCS struggle were not captured for posterity by the BBC's cameras[135]. Similarly, multicultural Scotland is missing in the archive footage used in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*. As the compelling accounts of immigration

[134] 'The World Is Watching' James Cook's report for BBC Scotland on the new SNP Government's intentions for a referendum in 2011 http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-15395196

[135] Linda Hamill and Betty Kennedy were integral to the UCS work-in's success – Hamill was a shop floor steward and Kennedy operated the telephone lines which kept orders coming in. Groups such as Plantation Films, Govan's Hidden Histories and Glasgow Women's Library work to bring to light voices from Glasgow's past which have been missed out of its history.

documented in Glasgow Women's Library's, *She Settles in the Shields* (2011) demonstrate, Scotland has a long history of immigration and cultural diversity. Yet not only are these voices absent from *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, no mention is made of their existence either. The terms of eligibility for voting in the 2014 referendum stated that anyone living in Scotland could vote, regardless of their country of origin. But by failing to represent multicultural voices in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, it can be argued that the programme – and by extension the institution making the programme – devalues those citizens and their role in Scotland's past and future. The white, male iteration of Scotland's past presented in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* has the potential to embed the idea in public consciousness that white men are the most suitable protagonists to speak on behalf of the nation about Scotland's future. It can also be argued that not only does this choice of protagonist reflect the make-up of the BBC's own management structure, (dominated by white men) but that it confirms the corporation's influence on the cultural hegemony.

As well as being exclusively white and predominately male, the social frameworks represented in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* are almost exclusively from the central belt of Scotland. However, the highlands of Scotland had their own struggles and issues in the period covered by the programme, as highlighted by film such as *Lost Treasures* (Dawn Cine Group, 1956), which focuses on depopulation in the highlands, and *A Boy in Harris* (BBC Scotland, 1966) which depicts a day in the life of the only child in a village on the isle of Harris, hundreds of miles from the bright lights of Glasgow and the pop culture he watches on his neighbour's television. Similarly, although *Scotland's Smoking Gun* features clips from *The Cheviot, The Stag and the Black, Black Oil (*BBC

Scotland, 1974)[136] to illustrate its story about oil and the impact it had on Scottish communities in Aberdeen, it has omitted excerpts from the play which deal with issues surrounding land ownership and the historic suppression of Gaelic in Scotland, as these issues were not at the forefront of the referendum debate in 2014.

The lack of cultural and geographical diversity in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* indicates that the narrative about Scotland's past presented onscreen is as much about omission as it is about representation. This serves as a reminder that while remediation of archive material in television history programmes works to memorialise 'certain narratives and icons of the past' (Erll, 2010: 393), there is also the risk that what is not continuously remediated 'will be forgotten' (Brunow,2017:15).

Memorialising milestones

As I have demonstrated in the archival aesthetics section of this chapter, television archive material is used to create a visual framework in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* upon which a specific narrative about the past is built. Repetition of footage in montages throughout the programme canonises specific archival images and the events they represent, thus creating audiovisual *lieux de mémoire* which serve to memorialise and fix the milestones presented within the programme in cultural memory. It is worth noting that *Scotland's Smoking Gun* uses a strikingly similar timeline and 'archive and eyewitness' format to *Road to Referendum,* which was broadcast on STV in 2013. Both programmes present the birth of the Welfare State, the discovery of oil in Scotland, the decline of

[136] *The Cheviot, The Stag and the Black, Black Oil* was originally performed as a stage play in 1973 by the left-wing theatre group, 7:84, touring community centres around Scotland. A version was recorded by the BBC for *Play for Today* in 1974 which included a documentary section featuring interviews with oil riggers and residents of Aberdeen.

heavy industry and strike action in the 1970s and 1980s, Thatcher's Britain becoming increasingly divided, and the successful campaign for Scottish Devolution in the 1990s as key factors in the nation's journey to referendum Similarly, television archive material presented in *Road to Referendum* is recycled and re-presented in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* (*illustration 3-8*). For example, both programmes frame the discovery of the Forties Oil Field off the coast of Aberdeen in 1970 as an economic solution to the cost of independence, using the same footage of the 1970s SNP 'It's Your Oil' television and poster campaign. Representations of class struggle and industrial decline are depicted in both programmes with identical footage of Jimmy Reid speaking to the UCS workers in 1971, as well as miners clashing with police at Orgreave in 1984 and protests outside Ravenscraig in 1992. The 1979 and 1997 referendums are symbolised by similar shots of polling stations and campaign posters, while the opening of Scottish Parliament in 1999 is represented in both programmes with archival footage of Donald Dewar's gleeful statement, "There shall be a Scottish Parliament. I like that!" This referencing and repetition across two programmes and two broadcasters within a space of twelve months illustrates Erll's argument that 'remediation tends to solidify cultural memory, creating and stabilising certain narratives and icons of the past' (2010: 393). Through repetition and remediation, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* creates a visual canon memorialising specific events as milestones on Scotland's journey to referendum, which in turn has the potential to embed in cultural memory.

It is also worth noting that in interviews conducted for this thesis the directors of *Road to Referendum* and *From Scotland With Love* both emphasised not only the primacy of the archival image in their programmes, but the importance of budgeting and scheduling for research when sourcing archive

material. In interview, Virginia Heath, the director of *From Scotland with Love* stated that she dedicated three months to archive research for her film, amassing enough material to be able to 'stitch together' a narrative 'shot by shot'. Similarly, *Road to Referendum's* director, Brendan O'Hara, acknowledged in interview the crucial role of television archive in his programme, claiming 'we put so much of that [budget] into archive because I knew that I could tell the story, but the story that I wanted to tell was utterly reliant on archive'. Further he stated that his editor would say 'I want four of the best [clips] and I will choose'. My experience on *Scotland's Smoking Gun* was different; because the entire production and edit time was less than three months on a small budget there was not the time or money to offer several archival choices for each sequence. As a result, the comedy and drama clips on display in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* are not as nuanced or as varied as those shown in *Road to Referendum*. While archive footage from *The Stanley Baxter Show* included in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* depicts the Scottish comedian poking fun at the Glaswegian accent, a clip from the same show used in *Road to Referendum* is mocking middle-class English television presenters' cultural dominance of television in the 1960s with his 'Parliamo Glasgow' Weegie to English translation sketch. Scottish pop music performances are also used as social signifiers in both programmes, but while *Road to Referendum* features politically charged songs such as the Proclaimers' 1987 debut performance of 'Throw the R Away'[137] on *The Tube (*Channel 4 1982-1987), *Scotland's Smoking Gun* presents less controversial *Top of the Pops* performance of '500 Miles' (1988)[138]. Similarly, the

[137] Throw the R Away is about the negative connotations associated with the Scottish accent: 'I've been so sad since you said my accent was bad, he's worn a frown this Caledonian clown.'

[138] The use of *Top of the Pops* performances in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* is as much down to copyright and clearance costs as contextual suitability.

controversial 1973 BBC drama, *Scotch on the Rocks*[139] which is scrutinised in *Road to Referendum* for the scandal it caused when it was broadcast, is not mentioned in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*.

In the presentation (and omission) of archive material onscreen, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* constructs a narrative not just about the history of Scotland but of the BBC in Scotland too. The inclusion of BBC Scotland programmes and the use of BBC news footage to illustrate the milestones in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* not only flags up the broadcaster's own role in Scotland's past, but situates itself as an essential component of Scotland's story. Clare Grogan's voice-over confirms the programme's narrative that television has played a central role in Scotland's journey towards referendum, claiming 'the world and Britain was changing. But could the real change in Scotland be down to one thing? TV' and

> Scotland's young may have been looking to change the future, but our television output showed a Scotland very much stuck in the past. Just as television had brought us the outside world, now it was very much time to look at ourselves'

In response to this rhetorical challenge, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* features archive footage from Scottish comedies, pop shows and dramas produced by BBC Scotland throughout the rest of the programme (*illustration 3-8*), implying that the broadcaster adapted to the times and found its voice along with the nation it represents.

The narrative of BBC Scotland occupying a central role in the lives of the Scottish nation put forward in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* is illustrated by a sequence depicting the arrival of television in Scotland, featuring a television camera pointing out of the screen, at us, the viewers, intercut with shots of a

[139] Based on the novel by Douglas Hurd and Andrew Osmond, the television drama series imagines that a paramilitary wing of the SNP, the Scottish Liberation Army, stages an uprising in Scotland. Further to criticism from the SNP about the controversial nature of the series, the BBC has not shown the series again.

family huddled around a television set in the centre of a living room and the heart of the family. The television set is still at the heart of most homes, a site for group identification and cultural memory and, as Hoskins notes, 'it is here, (on television) above all, that experiences of, and mediated through, the group, are more likely to cohere and endure through time' (2001:333).

Conclusion

In this chapter I have considered how television archive material is used as a visual framework upon which a specific narrative about Scotland's past is constructed in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*. I have also explored how television archive material is used to create what Jamie Baron refers to as a sense of pastness (2014:1) in order to connect the viewer with the version of the past presented onscreen, thus enabling the programme's narrative to embed in cultural memory of Scotland's journey towards referendum.

In seeking to find the 'smoking gun', the one single action which kick-started a chain of events leading up to the 2014 independence referendum, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* is performing what Andrew Hoskins has described as 'the mediation of history' (2001:342) in that the past is synthesised and shaped into a narrative chosen by the broadcaster. As Simon Schama notes, 'the moment a shot is framed, something other than the passive recording of 'reality' is being achieved' (2004:30). The version of the past presented in *Scotland's Smoking Gun,* reassembled in a television edit room, has condensed 70 years into 1 hour, editing out any loose ends from the past which might disrupt its narrative about Scotland's journey to referendum. However, this means that the version of the past presented in the programme is homogeneous, lacking in nuance and diversity. As this narrative has the potential to sediment into cultural memory of the referendum, scrutiny of the power of the archival image and the

production processes which aid, and hinder, programme makers in their archival choices is essential. As I have described in the introduction and in this chapter, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* contains errors and omissions, mistakes made as a result of heavy workloads and tight schedules, and footage omitted due to lack of time and budget for sourcing material, which in turn has affected the programme's iteration of the past. In the next chapter I will focus on how production practices, institutional policy and archival availability can impact on the version of the past presented onscreen.

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Chapter 4: 'You're always scripting to the pictures': production practices on How the Campaign Was Won (*BBC1 Scotland, 2014)*

In my analysis of *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, I argued that the television archive material within the programme plays a crucial role in creating and establishing a specific narrative about Scotland's past, thus influencing public understanding of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum. I have also argued that creating visual canons with television archive material and 'scripting to pictures' has the potential to problematise narratives about the past presented on television. Luisa Cigognetti and Pierre Sorlin claim that the images on screen in archive programmes are a result of a balancing act that programme-makers must maintain between obligations to the funding institution and to the viewer (2010). As they put it, the programme-makers are 'obliged to keep a balance between price and quality (2010:31) and therefore 'are often tempted to buy a cheap prosaic sequence rather than an original, expensive one' (ibid). However, in order to keep viewers entertained 'they often select the most riveting pictures' available (ibid). Meanwhile, Ann Gray and Erin Bell argue that the version of the past presented on screen is influenced – and limited - by 'technological, financial and cultural' factors (2007:1). Therefore, in this chapter I will investigate the production practices, material constraints, and institutional conventions that affect the decision-making process for programme-makers at BBC Scotland when choosing television archive material. I will also assess the impact these practices and constraints have on the version of the past which ends up on screen.

My case study for this chapter is BBC Scotland's 60min archive and eyewitness format documentary about the two-year referendum campaign, *How the Campaign Was Won* (2014). Formally and conceptually, it compliments *Scotland's Smoking Gun,* re-using and re-contextualising the contents of the BBC Scotland television archive to construct a narrative about an event in Scotland's past, thus neatly bookending the unit's output. While *Scotland's Smoking Gun* provides an introduction to the referendum, (asking the question 'how did we get here?'), *How the Campaign Was Won* provides a conclusion, offering a succinct overview of the highlights of the two-year campaign and the result of the vote. Assembled almost entirely from BBC news and documentary footage from the referendum period, it reworks news bulletins and debate shows into a coherent chronology of specific interconnected events, with a voice-over[140] providing commentary and onscreen contributors speaking to camera about the significance of the events and their memories of them.

Based on evidence gained from interviews with Craig Williams, who produced and directed the programme, and with the editor of the programme (who wishes to remain anonymous), I will examine how the archive material was chosen and organised for the programme. I will examine the decisions made by Williams and the editor when faced with an abundance or lack of archive material, considering the role factors such as cost, availability of the material, BBC editorial guidelines, and personal choice played in constructing a narrative about a contested moment in the recent past. My own role in the production should be mentioned here, as it informed my decision to focus on *How the Campaign Was Won*, and to interview its director and editor. I was the archive producer on the programme, and my previous experience in this role alerted me to the fact that factors such as staffing, archive costs, scheduling, and editorial

[140]Scottish actress, Julie Graham, provides the voice-over.

guidelines can also influence the production process. Consequently, this chapter will consider the impact these elements had on the construction of *How the Campaign Was Won* and the narrative about the referendum it presents.

The interviews took place in January and March 2017, over two years after *How the Campaign Was Won* was made, meaning that both interviewees had forgotten some details specific to the programme (for example, during the interview Williams had trouble recalling the exact budget allocated to the programme[141]). However, they both remembered the structuring and work pattern of the programme quite clearly and corroborated each-others' description of the production process. This was due in part to their established working routine and process for documenting their work which I will expand on later in the chapter, but it must also be acknowledged that there was also an element of hindsight and re-contextualisation involved in their testimony. For example, Williams claims in interview to have known what the key issues were during the campaign and therefore knew what to focus on in his documentary, but this statement (and the structure of the programme itself) indicates hindsight bias, described by Olivier Klein & Peter Hegarty as 'the tendency to view an event as more predictable, inevitable or likely once it has taken place'(2017:249).

Williams has been employed by BBC Scotland for twenty years, working as a Producer/Director for the last nine years. In that time, he has made thirty-three programmes for the broadcaster, six of which have large archive elements. He is currently working in the Investigations Unit, which is part of the news department in BBC Scotland's Pacific Quay building in Glasgow. The editor has been working in his current role since 1985, having previously worked as a VT

[141] He offered to find the original budget details and forward them to me. However, this information has not been forthcoming.

technician. He is a freelancer, rather than staff member, but BBC Scotland is one of his main clients and he stated to me that he has made in excess of a thousand programmes for the broadcaster, many of which contain an archive element. Williams states that he and the editor often work together and have made about a dozen programmes together since their first project in 2012. My decision to interview only Williams and the editor about the production process, rather than the entire team, is a result of Williams having overall responsibility for the content of the programme during its production[142]. Indeed, in our interview he claimed that he sees his job 'as shaping the final programme'. However, his working relationship with the editor offers an opportunity to study the decision-making process in the edit room. Tellingly, during the interview, the editor described his job as 'half being a mind reader', adding that:

> sometimes what they [directors] say they want isn't really what they want. But you sometimes have to encourage them to realise what they want and to make it seem like it's their idea.

As the programme's archive producer, I spent a considerable amount of time in the edit room, observing the close working relationship that the editor and Williams had built up over years of making programmes together. Analysis of their modus operandi offered an insight into the way personal taste and style, as well as working methods, can influence what ends up on screen, which I will explore further in this chapter.

Theorising the production process

John Corner argues that questions concerning production are important within criticism and research, as production is '*a* moment in a process but it is *the* moment of formation and this gives it a primacy no matter what transformations occur later' (1999:70). Myra Macdonald expands on this, arguing that 'from the

[142] The final programme was submitted to the Referendum Unit's executive producers for final review.

process of selecting participants, to the establishment of location, choice of interview method, filming and editing conventions, memories on television are 'staged' within particular parameters' (2006:331). In this chapter I will examine the production elements listed by Macdonald, considering how they are staged and how this affects the narrative about the past presented on screen.

Philip Schlesinger's seminal study of BBC production practices, *Putting Reality Together* (1978, 1992), offers a valuable insight into the impact both corporate and individual production practices can have on BBC television output, as well as highlighting the tensions between individual creativity and corporate production guidelines involved in making a BBC programme. ~~A~~lthough Schlesinger's research focuses on newsroom production, his observations about structuring and planning can be applied to the production of news-based archive programmes and I will examine the ways in which the production processes in *How the Campaign Was Won* reflects his argument that 'the routines of production have definite consequences in structuring news' (1992:47). As the archive content is almost entirely BBC news footage, I will engage with Schlesinger's argument that television news is as much about the production system within which it is created as it is about world events. Echoing Colin McArthur's claim that history programmes 'take their character from the system of production relationships in the social formation they inhabit (1980:15). Schlesinger asserts that:

> the news we receive on any given day is not as unpredictable as much journalistic mythology would have us believe. Rather the doings of the world are tamed to meet the needs of a production system in many respects bureaucratically organized.' (1992:47)

In other words, news programmes, like history programmes, are constructions shaped by the institutional environment in which they are created. This reinforces Jenny Kitzinger's assertion that it is crucial to analyse media

templates in the news to assess 'how reality is framed and how media power operates' (2000:61). Kitzinger defines 'media templates' as 'key events which [are] used to *explain* current events (2000:76). Further, she argues that templates 'serve as rhetorical shorthand, helping journalists and audiences to make sense of fresh news stories' (2000:61). She also argues that they are instrumental in 'guiding public discussion not only about the past, but also the present and the future (ibid). Debra Ramsay expands on Kitzinger's theory that media templates offer a two-way flow between past and present, arguing that as well as using patterns from the past to make sense of the present, they allow analysis and re-assessment of the past (2015:24). Further, Ramsay argues that **pre-**mediation is a function of media templates, which she describes 'as a deliberate attempt to create media templates *before* they are needed, thereby creating reassuring frameworks that can be applied to future events' (2015:24). She claims that these pre-mediated templates work to neutralize 'their potential impact for social and cultural disruption (ibid). My own analysis of media templates in *How the Campaign Was Won* reflects these concepts, exploring how archive material is used to facilitate the two-way flow between past and present and to frame reality. In the previous chapter I focused on how archival aesthetics are employed in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* to perpetuate media templates about Scotland's past (such as divided politics and devolution) to explain its contemporary constitutional crisis. In this chapter I will focus on the process of 'scripting to the picture', examining the process of choosing archive material and how this relates to the scripting, interviewing, and editing processes involved in making *How the Campaign Was Won*, foregrounding the ways in which the past, represented by the archive news bulletins (and the narratives therein) on display are 'retrospectively reframed by the present' (Ramsay, 2015:24).

John Ellis' concept of witnessing (2000), in which he positions television as a window on the world (allowing the viewer to witness world events) is also played out within the frames of *How the Campaign Was Won*, both in its form and its content. Ellis describes witnessing as a 'a necessary relationship with what is seen' (2000:13) and notes that this relationship is one of complicity, demanding 'a degree of direction of understanding' (ibid). Through the scripting and editing process, Williams directs the audience's understanding of the past *in How the Campaign Was Won,* bringing his own subjective interpretation of events to the programme, whilst being mindful of the obligations the broadcaster must meet in making a political documentary. Myra Macdonald asserts that within television documentary, production decisions about who speaks play an important part in what gets remembered and what gets forgotten' (2006:328). This highlights the importance of studying the influence of personal interpretation and institutional policy on the production of a programme about the 2014 Scottish independence referendum, as it is a contentious event in Scotland's past which is currently influencing the discourse about Scottish politics and has the potential to do so in the future. Therefore, I will explore the different layers of witnessing and working through within the programme; from the interviewees on screen re-assessing events they have so recently been through, to the programme itself becoming archive material, now held in BBC Scotland's television archive and available to be viewed and reused by programme-makers working on archive programmes.

Making *How the Campaign Was Won*

First broadcast on BBC 1 Scotland at 10.40pm on 1st October 2014[143](just two weeks after the referendum result), *How the Campaign Was Won* is the final programme made by the Referendum Unit. In interview, Williams described it as a 'summary and as much as possible a behind the scenes look to see what happened in the two competing campaigns'. Further, he stated in interview that his intention for the programme was to 'put the referendum to bed' by 'tell(ing) the story from beginning to end about what the key points were'. To this end, specific episodes from the two-year campaign are presented within *How the Campaign Was Won* as milestones and causal factors (or 'smoking gun' moments) leading to the result of the vote. The programme starts with a pre-title montage made up of clips of the vote results being announced on the 19th September and reactions from Yes and No groups. The following events are then set out throughout the programme as key moments or issues within the campaign; the launch of the Yes and No campaigns; Alex Salmond and David Cameron signing the Edinburgh Agreement; the launch of the SNP white paper on an independent Scotland; George Osborne's press statement rejecting a currency union; Better Together's campaign being called 'Project Fear', featuring a montage of politicians giving warnings about the threat to the economy, industry, pensions and EU membership in an independent Scotland; grassroots activists and the rise of groups such as the Radical Independence Campaign and Women for Independence, townhall meetings and Yes and No activists; love bombing in media campaigns and cyber bullying online; the role of social media in the campaign; accusations of BBC bias; the Leaders' Debates

[143] with subsequent broadcasts on the Parliamentary Channel and News Channel. Stored for a year on i-Player

focusing on currency; fears about the future of the oil industry and the NHS; The Vow on the cover of the *Daily Record* newspaper and the promise of more powers for Scotland; polling day and results night. There are problems with this way of storytelling, in that creating a timeline can leave out nuance, and the interpretation of what constitutes a key moment is open to subjectivity. Yet when placed in a media institutional context (for example, a programme made by the BBC), the timeline works to establish a dominant narrative in cultural memory about what happened and what was of importance in the past. I will explore how this relates to *How the Campaign Was Won* in more detail later in the chapter.

Williams also stated in interview that he wanted expert eyewitness testimony in the form of interviews with 'people who were involved in it [the campaign], and who were covering it, and who were running it'. As a result, specially shot interviews with leading politicians, strategists and political commentators involved in the campaign are interspersed throughout the programme, reflecting on - and re-evaluating their role in - the events played out onscreen.

During the interview, I asked Williams to describe the commissioning, development and production process for *How the Campaign Was Won*. According to his account, he had already made two programmes for the Referendum Unit[144] when he came up with the idea for *How the Campaign Was Won*, towards the end of the campaign. He stated that he successfully pitched the idea to the department's executive producer, Marcus Ryder, and was commissioned in August 2014, with a transmission date set for 1st October 2014. In the interview he gave details of the production schedule, noting that he spent just over a month in pre-production, working with two assistant producers, a researcher and

[144] *Our Friends in the North* (BBC, 2013) and *What Women Want (*BBC, 2014)

an archive producer (myself) who were responsible for sourcing contributors and archive, while he began to draft a script covering the main events of the campaign.

According to Williams, it took him between three and four days over a period of a few weeks to complete the script. It is worth mentioning here that it is standard practice in the BBC for directors to write scripts for documentaries.[145] However, while drama scripts have a specific format for dialogue and stage directions, documentary scripts work more as a running order for the programme. The script for *How the Campaign Was Won* incorporated a list of shots or images required and interview soundbites, along with the text for the voice-over. Most of the interviews with political and cultural commentators for the programme were recorded in Edinburgh in late August 2014. Interviewees recorded in this period included Brian Cox, David Torrance, Lesley Riddoch, Jeane Freeman, Alan Bisset, Mike Small, Darren McGarvey, Alex Massie, Lindsay McIntosh and Richard Walker[146]. Because the interviewees were filmed before the vote they were asked to talk about events in the past tense. I will discuss the impact of this on the creation of the narrative put forward by the programme later in the chapter. Interviews with party leaders and campaign strategists were recorded a few days after the referendum result. Interviews recorded during this period included Ruth Davidson (then-leader of the Scottish Conservatives), Johanne Lamont (then-leader of Scottish Labour), Willie Rennie (leader of the Scottish Lib-Dems), Blair Jenkins (Chief Exec of Yes Scotland), Blair McDougall (Chief Strategist for Better Together) and the BBC news

[145] This is based on my own experience of working on BBC documentaries for more than ten years.

[146] Brian Cox is an actor, David Torrance and Lesley Riddoch are broadcasters and journalists, Jeane Freeman was a founding member of Women for Independence and is currently an MSP, Alan Bisset is a playwright, Mike Small runs the Bella Caledonia website, Darren McGarvey is a broadcaster and writer, Alex Massie is a journalist, Lindsay McIntosh is a journalist, and Richard Walker was the editor of *The Sunday Herald* newspaper.

reporter, Alan Little. A camera operator and sound recordist were hired to record the interviews, and an assistant producer was present during each session, with Williams conducting the interviews. Although BBC assistant producers sometimes conduct interviews, Williams commented in interview that in this instance he wanted to sit down with the interviewees and question them himself, to prepare for writing the script. Transcripts of the interviews were made, giving him the opportunity to make a paper edit by choosing the sections of the interviews that he wanted to use in the programme. As he put it in interview:

> If you have a much longer edit, like eight or ten weeks, some people don't go in having looked at their material. I already knew what I had so I built up a script that had the sync and the clips in it, and my comm[147].

The programme turnaround from the start of pre-production to completion was approximately seven weeks[148]. The edit period lasted three weeks, starting two weeks before the vote, with a second edit suite brought into operation around the time of the result to edit in post-vote interviews and a conclusion covering the vote results. For comparison, the edit period for *Yes/No: Inside the Indyref* was originally scheduled at six weeks per episode[149]. It is also worth noting that, in my experience, archive-based series allow more time to accumulate archive, as material can be sourced over the course of the series. For example, an archive producer could potentially have 18 weeks to source archive material for the third episode of a series which dedicated six weeks edit time to each episode.

[147] Throughout the interview Williams uses the term 'comm' for commentary or voice-over.

[148] This is a standard amount of time for the production of a 1hour current affairs documentary at BBC Scotland.

[149] Information given via email by the editor and archive producer who worked on *Yes/No: Inside the Indyref,* although production and staffing issues meant the final edit schedule was longer

Historicising the past.

In the previous chapter I considered how archival aesthetics work to historicise the past on screen. In this section I explore the production processes involved in achieving this by examining how the director and editor manipulated the television archive material within *How the Campaign Was Won* to historicise what was at the time the extremely recent past. The programme was first broadcast just two weeks after the referendum result, a time when the campaign would still be fresh in the minds of many viewers, particularly the political twists and turns during the final weeks running up to the vote, when news coverage of the referendum peaked. It is also fair to assume that many viewers would still be emotionally entangled with the issues involved in the referendum and the outcome of the vote, as the campaign has been widely described as ground-breaking in terms of public engagement in Scotland[150]. The challenge for Williams and his editor, then, was to find a visually eloquent and coherent method of delineating representations of past and present within the programme. These tensions are played out in the opening sequence montage which is composed of shots from news footage of polling places around Scotland on 18th September 2014; the chief presiding officer declaring the final result of the vote on 19th September; Alex Salmond's defeat and Alistair Darling's victory speech; No campaigners celebrating, and Yes campaigners commiserating as the results were announced. Not only were these clips only two weeks old at the time of initial broadcast, but they had been repeated many times during that period in news bulletins reporting on the outcome of the vote. Thus, the challenge Williams faced was finding a way to re-present these images which

[150] The scathing review of *How the Campaign Was Won* in *the Herald* newspaper, detailed in the introduction, in which the author attacked the choice of title, indicates how raw emotions still were about the result at the time of broadcast.

would entertain the audience whilst imbuing the recent events depicted within the frame with a sense of historical importance.

Thomas Elsaesser addresses the issue of historicising the recent past in 'One Train May be Hiding Another' (1999), an eloquent reflection on representations of memory and history on screen. He proposes that history in the digital age appears to 'exist in suspended animation, neither exactly "behind" us, nor part of our present, but shadowing us rather like a parallel world which is un-real, hyper-real and virtual, all at the same time' (1999). This idea of history as a parallel world, of the past and the present engaged in a symbiotic relationship on screen, is reflected in Williams' approach to bridging between interviews and archive footage from the very recent past (and in the case of the results footage, only a few weeks old) in *How the Campaign Was Won*. Non-diegetic, dramatic music on the soundtrack functions as an audio cue every time archive footage appears on screen, and the footage itself has been put through a filter in the edit suite, giving it a slightly blurred effect. This differentiates it from the interview footage in the programme (some of which was shot before the results footage which is presented as in the past within the programme). Thus, with the flick of a switch in a television edit suite, certain moments from the very recent past are historicised on screen, embodying Corner's definition of the historical imaginary as 'an engagement with the historical within which imaginative constructions, serving different aesthetic and ideological ends, are primary elements (2006:294). Corner claims that history on film and television 'is organized as… a virtual journey in which alignments of past and present… are configured and made subject to assessment' (2006 293-294). This reference to organization and assessment is a reminder that the past represented on screen is a construction and, as Vivian Sobchack warns, we must question 'television's use

of real events, about its narrative construction of the historically real, and about the nature and function of visual abstraction' (2002:93). Thus, the filter effect used in *How the Campaign Was Won* serves a dual purpose. Firstly, it presents a symbiotic relationship between the past and present, portraying them as separate but linked. Secondly, it offers a visual reminder of the constructed and performative nature of documentary. The filter indicates that the events portrayed in *How the Campaign Was Won* have been manipulated and edited to suit the director's vision, illustrating Corner's argument that the aesthetic and ideological construction associated with historical drama is 'often powerfully present in purportedly factual accounts too' (2006:294). Indeed, Williams considers documentaries to be as much about storytelling as dramas are. When questioned in interview about his desire to make the programme entertaining as well as informative to the audience, he replied:

> I don't understand people who make documentaries and only watch documentaries. You have to watch fiction, you have to watch all sorts of films, you have to read poetry, you have to do anything like that because it's all about narrative and storytelling and making those decisions.

As Macdonald notes, television might well create an 'illusion of instantaneous realism' (2006:331), but memories on television are 'staged' throughout the production process. This is particularly the case with Williams' staging of interviews for *How the Campaign Was Won*. The process of choosing which moments from the referendum to memorialise, analyse, and contextualise within the programme was taking place as events were still unfolding in August and September 2014. Some of the interviews were recorded before the campaign had ended but no indication of this is given in the programme, and onscreen the interviewees' commentary is in the past tense. However, Williams is open about the strategic planning behind the interviews, stating:

> A lot of them, in terms of the narrative and the broader sweep, we were able to do in August. And they (the interviewees) mostly got that. There was only one contributor who couldn't get his head around having to speak about what had been happening. Everyone else played ball and got it entirely.

Not only does this illustrate the performative aspect of the interviews, but it also indicates that Williams had decided to conduct them in this way because he already had an idea of the story he wanted to tell about the campaign. Indeed, his comments about conducting the interviews indicate that he used the question and answer sessions to contextualise, edit and script the past:

> To some extent with a lot of them I did the same interview over and over again. 'What do you think about this, what happened then, what did you think about that intervention?' And so I was always able to ping pong between people.

As a result of this, he claimed in our interview that when he went into the edit room,

> I already knew what I had so I built up a script that had the sync and the clips in it, and my commentary.'

Although Williams asserts that interviewees were not asked to fabricate any part of their testimony and were only questioned on events that had already taken place, the way they were asked to present their testimony highlights the constructed, staged nature of the programme. On screen, the illusion is created of the contributors speaking with the authority of hindsight after the referendum results, when in fact the campaign was still running, and events were still unfolding when they were interviewed. As Alessandro Portelli notes, the historian (or in this case the director) acts 'as an organizer of the testimony – and organization… is not technical, it is political' (1981:105). Williams' description of the interview process and his reference to the narrative is evidence that the testimony he gathered was organized according to his own agenda, or vision, for the programme.

Narrativizing the past

In her introduction to narratology, Mieke Bal proposes that one of the principles of organizing a story[151] is to choose a 'point of view' from which the elements (or 'fabula' to use Bal's term) of the story can be presented (2009). In this section, I will consider how Williams' method of organizing the elements of the storyline in *How the Campaign Was Won* – his specific routines for developing and writing a script, along with his working relationship with the editor - influenced both the structure of the story and the point of view of the narrative presented in the programme. Astrid Erll's argument that '*re*-membering is an act of assembling available data that takes place in the present' (2011:8) is particularly apt for this section, as the decisions made in the edit room for *How the Campaign Was Won* – choosing and assembling available data about a past event – are a symbolic (and physical) act of *re*-membering. Similarly, Hodgkin and Radstone's assertion that 'the past is constituted in narrative, always representation, always construction' (2006:2) works well as an analogy for the scripting and editing processes involved in making the programme. The idea of the past being constituted and constructed in narrative is borne out by Williams' description of his writing routines. In our interview he commented, 'I tend to build a script up as a structure' noting that 'you're forever just working on the structure that you've come up with'. He elaborated on the process, describing it thus:

> I build a sort of two column script: the left-hand side is instructions and format, right-hand side is the sync and the commentary…. I'll go into each box one at a time and I'll put in just a word or a phrase, then I'll know what's coming next. Then I'll build it up and I'll say… 'needs commentary to set up… Salmond talking about the currency.'

[151] Bal defines 'story' as the 'context of the (narrative) text (which) produces a particular manifestation, inflection and 'colouring' of fabula'. 'Fabula' is defined as 'a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors. (2009)

His choice of language is interesting here, with 'building', 'structure', and 'column' calling to mind Nora's description of archive as the scaffolding of memory. Similarly, Bal's definition of 'fabula' as the elements of a story links in with Williams description of building and structuring a script. In this case, the referendum events he chose to memorialise in the programme are the fabula, the building blocks of the story (indeed, in interview he equates campaign 'milestone' events with story beats), while the archive clips he used are their physical counterpart, the visual scaffolding upon which he builds the programme's narrative. In our interview he was very clear about using these building blocks to create a specific chronological structure, stating:

> it's not too difficult to pick out what the big key moments are and how they're going to string together in a row. And you're telling it in a linear fashion. There was never any doubt about telling it in a linear fashion.

Of course, 'picking out' key moments implies that other material, other events, have been dismissed. Here then we see scripting as a constant re-working of archive news footage and reflexive 're-scripting of the moment-by-moment trajectory of events' (Hoskins 2009:33). In our interview Williams asserted that he favours this process because it ensures that he is 'never left with a blank page' at the end of the script-writing phase. This reference to the blank page again alludes to the constructed nature of documentaries, dependent on the vision and prone to the subjectivity of the programme-maker.

Williams' blank page also acts as a rebuttal to Ellis' argument that 'documentaries… do not have the narrative drive of fiction' as documentary material 'is not organized, as a classic fiction tends to be, to deliver the ending of the narrative' (2000: 115). By filling up his blank page with notes in the margin about how best to present archive news footage Williams is acting out the concept of news as a first rough draft of history, to be edited, revised and

re-structured in order to fit neatly into a linear narrative. This is also evidenced in his description during the interview of script revisions and cuts made in the edit room as 'trimming off the fat'. In interview he stated that cuts are necessary because 'rough cuts run long, your scripts are always too long, you always have too long answers'. Subjectivity and personal judgement are revealed in his claim that:

> You always have too many things in. There comes a point where you have to start paring that down and there are certain things where you say, 'to be honest with you that's probably less important… that's storytelling'.

In our interview he went on to assert that scripting and editing cuts are 'largely a storytelling issue, to make the narrative roll on and keep moving'. This notion of filtering and cutting out elements of the past to make a 'good story' is echoed by the editor's description in our interview of his working practices in the edit suite:

> There's a degree of filtering and sorting out that has to be done. I will find the (filmed) interviews- sometimes there are two cameras on them, so I will find the second camera, I will sync them up and then put that synced up file in the [Avid] project as well. Then I'll take the director's script, with all the stuff that I've filtered, and build the whole programme.

During the interview I asked the editor to describe his working routine with Williams, and his answer provides further evidence of the way in which the past is re-shaped and re-contextualised to suit the demands of the programme's narrative. He stated:

> He will block out roughly the direction that he wants to go between chunks of interviews, and he will string that together almost like a text document. So, he will have a script with beats, like the whole story. And he will insert into that all the clips of interviews that he has conducted, which help to tell the story.

In our interview, Williams described his methodology in structuring the script as a formal process in which events and images are assessed, matched and contextualised, thus reiterating Corner's argument that the production of history

on television is a process of assessment (2006: 293-294). This is evidenced in Williams' claim that:

> To some extent you are always driven by two different things – and you ought to be in television making – one is the facts and the bare bones of what's happening, the other is the visuals. If you're doing it properly the two work together quite nicely. They should not be in conflict.

However, although he claims that facts and visuals should not be in conflict, it is essential to note here that he indicates that he views the visuals as having primacy creating a narrative on television. When talking about editing the programme in our interview he stated:

> you are always looking for the pictures that will dramatize, illustrate, the story. So, when you've got something as boring as the Chancellor of the Exchequer talking about whether or not a currency will be the pound, you're looking for the picture… You want the outrage. You want him running to the car and refusing to be interviewed, which everyone remembered seeing on the day[152].

Expanding on this, Williams raised a point in the interview, which has served as a foundation for this thesis' hypothesis that television archive material is a site of power. He claimed:

> You're always scripting to pictures. I was constantly fitting it [the programme narrative] to the pictures, if someone [in a piece of archive news footage] could tell it better than I could, we would use that. If, you know, archive itself, just with a few upsounds, told you it better we would use that.

When questioned on this, he explained:

> Because it's television. It's always pictures. You always write to the pictures. The pictures should have all the content. The content should be driven by the pictures and sequences and the people. And you write to that and fit your script to that.

Here then, is the power and the danger of recycling archive footage to create a televisual memory; the reliance on pictures – in this case archive news footage – to tell a story on television opens the narrative up to the threat of presenting

[152] Williams is referring to everyone seeing the incident on television news broadcasts and follow up news items about the debated currency union, not as it happened live, alluding to the powerful connection between news footage and cultural memory.

'the disembodied signs of history rather than history itself' (Caldwell, 1995:164-166) brought about by 'endlessly ritualising its formal permutations' (ibid) such as the use and re-use of archive footage. And, as Cigognetti and Sorlin note (2010:31), programme makers face the temptation of choosing archive material because it is visually stimulating (such as footage of Osborne running to a car instead of giving a boring speech). Thus, there is the potential for archive-based programmes such as *How the Campaign Was Won* to showcase historicity via a constructed version of the past scripted to fit the picture.

Williams' methodology for selecting news stories and footage for inclusion in the programme again echoes Erll's concept of *re*-membering, but also raises concerns about 'historicity'.

> Obvious things, like the date being named, the publication of the white paper, the fight over the currency… These are things that definitely would always have to be in there and that goes all the way up to the final days; with the two weeks before it when there was the poll published and that caused the panic, everyone coming up from London, Gordon Brown… the Vow and all that…. You're in it for two years, following it every day, things jump out at you.

This description not only illustrates the way in which television news establishes and perpetuates media templates, it also validates Andrew Hoskins' claim that television news is 'one of the most self-conscious of the electronic/digital media as it reveals and promotes itself in the actual production of that which it documents' (2009:33). Williams might claim that certain events, such as Osborne's currency intervention, are 'obvious' or 'jump out at you', and are therefore essential to the programme, but it must be remembered that their perceived importance is perhaps a result of their prominence, heavily rotated on national and regional news bulletins.

In our interview, I asked Williams to describe his methodology for sourcing news items for inclusion in *How the Campaign Was Won*, and his description of

the BBC's Journalism Portal and Planning Desk offers an insight into BBC newsgathering systems, which are reminiscent of the news diaries described by Schlesinger in the 1970s. Williams stated that he tasked his assistant producer with setting up and maintaining a spreadsheet, inputting information about all the major events of the campaign over the two-year campaign[153]. According to Williams, the information on the spreadsheet included 'the date, what happened, who was involved, and a link to the footage'. The assistant producer sourced news stories for inclusion in the spreadsheet from the daily news diary, which is on the Journalism Portal, an interactive shared drive run and updated by the newsgathering team on the Planning Desk. Williams comments:

> News diaries literally used to be a page in a diary in a newspaper…. News diaries are always essentially the same thing: you go to a date and there will be a list, not in order of whether they are good or not, but there will just be a list in some order of what is happening that day, what we know is happening. And, also what you are planning on doing with your reporters, the things that they are working on themselves that are non-diary. You have diary and non-diary items. So that exists as an archive still, it doesn't go away after each day. So, you can go through that and bring those things there.[154]

In our interview Williams acknowledged that subjectivity and personal taste play a part in the selection of events from the news diary for inclusion in his programme, stating 'you have an idea of what you want, and then that therefore shapes what goes into the film at the end'. He also admitted in interview that 'the minute you begin making conscious editorial decisions before something, a filter goes in that filters out the stuff that isn't going to be there'.

Obviously, to cover a two-year campaign in a one-hour programme, certain events must be rejected as well as selected. It is also worth noting that

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[153] Williams claims that the assistant producer put in 'all the major events', again indicating subjectivity as the assistant producer and Williams were deciding what was major and what should be included in the spreadsheet.

[154] I requested an interview with a representative from the newsroom to discuss production practices for reporting the news during the referendum. However, requests from myself and from Ian Small (Head of Business) to the current Head of News were not answered.

the programme is not solely composed of BBC archive material; there is also a small amount of UCG (user generated content[155]) and some STV footage included. However, Williams' description of the news diary as an archive is an allusion to Hoskins' assertion that television news 'is constantly adding to its archive, its own repertoire of memory' (2009:33). Television, Hoskins argues 'selectively sustains and reframes the past through the highly selective repeating of video footage and stills images' (ibid). This is played out in the structure and content of *How the Campaign Was Won* with Williams acknowledging in interview that his shot selection incorporated 'a tendency to go for stuff that you already know'. In other words, if an event had been dominating BBC news bulletins– 'selected and repeated' to use Hoskins words – then it was more likely to be on Williams' radar and therefore selected for inclusion, thus potentially repeating the BBC's narrative about the referendum campaign.

Throughout the production of *How the Campaign Was Won*, from script, to interview transcripts, to the edit room, there is evidence of a narrative about the past being constructed. Even the industry term for the first rough cut of the programme – 'the assembly' - alludes to this. The past (or, at least, a version of it) is assembled in the edit room. During my interview with the editor, he claimed that the assembly edit for *How the Campaign Was Won* took around a day to three days to complete, in which time he built a rough, preliminary version of the programme, complete with interview soundbites and a guide voice-over based on Williams script. He described it as being 'almost like a radio programme' at this stage. This comment indicates the primacy of television archive in the editor's working practice for *How the Campaign was Won*; although talking head interviews and any specially shot footage had been

[155]User Generated Content is a term used to identify archive material supplied by members of the public, such as mobile phone footage, YouTube content or photographs

edited together for the assembly cut, the editor did not consider it to be televisual until the archive footage had been added. The assembly cut, then, represents the foundations being laid for the programme in preparation for the visual scaffolding of the narrative to be constructed.

Williams' and the editor's established style of working together and the short-hand they have developed - which calls to mind Kitzinger's description of the way in which media templates serve as a 'shorthand' (2000:61) –also has the potential to influence the version of the past which is presented on screen. There are benefits to an established work pattern, such as speed and efficiency (meaning that an hour-long archive and eyewitness programme can be edited in three weeks) and an additional pair of eyes assessing the narrative, as indicated by the editor. In his description of how he and Williams work together, side by side in the edit room with Williams working on script revisions on his computer while the editor re-cuts the programme on Avid, he illustrates his role as a counter-balance to Williams, offering a second-opinion on whether the programme's message is being conveyed effectively:

> As we're going through, I'll come across something… sometimes when you see something written down, it doesn't always come across the same way when you hear it spoken. And so sometimes I'll come across a bit of interview which has just been dropped into the timeline as per [the] script. Then I'll say, 'actually that worked better there, further up the timeline' or 'if we took that bit 30secs before that' or 'we don't need that'. So, there's a degree of refining going on from day one basically, and as I'm modifying the timeline, we will have a conversation about whether [the editor's suggestion] is good thing or a bad thing… and we'll either do it or we won't do it. And if we do it, then he'll go and modify his script.

However, with such an effective close working relationship there is potentially less chance of venturing away from a methodology that is proven to work well for them. This in turn could lead to the perpetuation of media templates and the hegemonic consensus worried over by Caldwell; Williams knows from habit

what he described in interview as 'the beats to hit' in a script, and the editor knows the kind of visuals his director likes. As the editor noted in interview:

> [he] more or less leaves it up to me to select the archive. We choose music together about the mood that we want to set, and the kind of pace and feeling that we want. And then he will leave it to me to select the archive.

The editor might feel that he has autonomy to select archive material for the programme, but in fact there is a level of assessing and filtering that happens before the material reaches the edit room and in the next section I will look at the selection process involved in providing archive material for potential use in the programme, and some of the issues encountered *on How the Campaign Was Won* with archive availability.

Archive availability and absence

My role as archive producer on the programme involved sourcing archive material to correspond with the events detailed in the script. I started the selection process in August 2014 and continued to source and select material right through to picture lock at the end of the edit. I organised my search by making a list based on what was in the script and the news spreadsheet created by the assistant producer. I updated my list regularly, checking with Williams and the editor about any new requirements. I also created my own spreadsheet, detailing archive material sourced, giving a description of the material, its copyright status and any costs involved with its use, which was shared with Williams and the editor. I acted as a first pair of eyes to the material, viewing it and assessing whether or not to send it to the edit room for Williams and editor to view[156]. I also catalogued footage on my spreadsheet and provided relevant timecodes so that Williams and the editor had a text database to scrutinise

[156] Assessing the footage involved checking that it corresponded to what had been requested, checking the quality of the image (ie making sure there was no dropout or pixilation), and finding the appropriate timecode for an event eg finding Osborne's currency intervention speech in a half-hour news bulletin.

before viewing, so they could select what they wanted to watch. Already then, before they even got to view the material, a selection process had begun, which would in turn shape the visual narrative of the final programme.

Availability, cost and copyright were all important factors affecting the decision-making process in selecting archive material to send to the edit room. BBC television archive is free to use in programmes made in-house by the BBC which are broadcast only in the UK (and iPlayer)[157] and most of the BBC news bulletins broadcast during the referendum were available to view digitally on BBC library systems such as the Digital Library and Davina[158]. These systems are compatible with the Avid editing software used in BBC edit suites, which meant that I could view archive material and then transfer it digitally to the edit suite quickly and efficiently. However, the ease with which material could be accessed through the Digital Library meant that this system was usually my first port of call for gathering material, as tape-based archive systems used within the BBC, such as Fabric, required a lot more time and effort to source material[159]. As the production and editing schedules were quite short, waiting for archive material which had not been digitised and was still on tape to be retrieved from the BBC's central archive in Perivale, sent on an overnight van to Glasgow, and then digitally transferred into the Avid suite was not a particularly efficient option. Asking for digital clips from network news programmes was also surprisingly time consuming, as it relied on sourcing the footage on the Davina digital news archive, which was difficult to use without specific training, and was not always accessible, then liaising with a technical team based in London to prepare the clip for digital transfer. Thus, basing the selection

[157] Any third-party clearances such as actor's or musician's royalties must be cleared separately.

[158] Davina is part of the pan-BBC news archive

[159] I will go into more detail about the different viewing platforms and formats archive is available on at the BBC in my next chapter.

process on the ease and speed of access to archive material created the danger of homogeneity in the final programme.

The role that cost and availability played in the selection process also highlights potential issues with representing a narrative about the past from a limited selection of archive. Throughout the production of *How the Campaign Was Won,* Williams and I often had to make a decision about whether or not to use a piece of archive material based on its cost. For example, footage of STV's *Leaders' Debate* is used in the programme, but as the STV licence fee was £450 per minute or part thereof[160], its use was kept to a minimum. Similarly, STV news footage of events during the campaign was not used as this would have incurred an additional licence fee of £450 per clip per minute. Instead, BBC news footage was used to illustrate each event because it was free, thus limiting the variety on screen and in the programme's narrative.

Access to, or lack of access to, material also had an impact on the narrative presented onscreen. Although there was a wealth of mobile phone footage from the referendum campaign, only one UGC clip is included in *How the Campaign Was Won*. This was due partly to the difficulty of sourcing footage, contacting owners, and licensing work within the production schedule, but also because of decisions made by Williams in the edit room, and - in one case - by the content providers themselves. As he recalled in interview:

> National Collective declined to let us use their material,[161] having said that they would do. They were an artists and writers' collective who were campaigning for independence. I think when the result came in… they were just scunnered by the result. There were also voices within that movement who believed in the narrative of BBC bias and therefore

[160] STV, as with most archive suppliers, charges per minute or part thereof, with a one minute minimum. This means that they will charge for a minute even if only 1 second of footage is used. They do not aggregate clips, meaning that if clips from two different programmes are used, 2 minutes will be charged for even if only 1 second is taken from each programme.

[161] The footage in question was of a National Collective event and rights belonged to the cinematographer who shot it. They withdrew there permission to use the footage on the 19th September 2014.

> decided that the BBC was to blame for this and didn't want to deal with us anymore.

While it is not the scope of this thesis to determine whether or not the BBC's reporting of the referendum was biased, it is important to acknowledge the contested position that the broadcaster held within the campaign and the accusations of institutional pro-Union bias levelled at it by many pro-Independence campaigners. Williams defends the BBC's coverage, stating:

> I think for all the comments that were made, and for mistakes that were undoubtedly made at the time by individuals at the BBC, we were out there filming all the time, you know. People would say things like, 'oh they've not got the story on the ground', (but) I think we did a pretty good job of it actually.

However, it can be argued that the contested nature of the broadcaster's output problematises a BBC programme about the campaign constructed almost entirely from BBC footage. In the absence of material such as the National collective footage, STV news bulletins or UGC, the BBC's record of the campaign – presented as a definitive account (in that Williams stated he wanted the programme to "put the referendum to bed") is, in fact, only one version of the past. This becomes problematic because a copy of *How the Campaign Was Won* is available to access and use on the Digital Library, BBC Scotland's digital self-service archive system. This means clips can be put into other programmes, thus perpetuating and reinforcing not just media templates about the referendum, but the specific narrative about the campaign presented by the programme, formed as much through absence as availability.

As I will explore in more depth in my next chapter, the unstable nature of digital archive material and storage systems might affect the way future generations access archive material about the referendum. This is exemplified

by the absence of Vine[162] footage in *How the Campaign Was Won*. In an early cut of the programme, Williams had a sequence about Better Together's controversial 2014 *Woman Who Made Up Her Mind* video[163]. Decried at the time by pro-independence campaigners as sexist, the feminist activist group, Women for Independence, quickly responded on twitter with the hashtag #havingacuppa. Supporters posted short clips via twitter's video hosting service, Vine, mocking the views about women and politics put forward in the Better Together video. In one vine, a woman fails to switch on a kettle, shouting, 'do I tip it over my head? I cannae decide. Vote Yes'. One of the hashtags she has supplied to accompany the clip is #poorweewummanbrain. In another clip, a woman asks, 'no children, no husband, am I a real woman?' Unfortunately, because Vine shut down in 2015[164], these clips are now almost impossible to find.[165] If they had been included in the programme, they would have been entered into the BBC archive (as part of the programme) and would therefore have been accessible to view and re-use in other programmes[166]. As it is, a small, fragile, record of the past is possibly lost forever. In interview Williams acknowledged the limitations of the programme as a comprehensive record of events, noting:

> Yeah, that was a miss in the programme, and that was a shame…. it's all gone now. You never know that at the time. You never know what's about to disappear.

Williams also noted during our interview that another sequence featuring a female activist was cut because 'in the end we just struggled for time to fit it in.' This again highlights the role subjectivity plays in structuring an account of

[162] A video hosting service used by Twitter which enabled users to on which users share six-second-long, looping video clips. It was available from 2012 to 2015

[163] *The Woman Who Made Up Her Mind* https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OLAewTVmkAU

[164] In January 2017 Twitter launched an internet archive of previously uploaded Vines.

[165] I contacted Women for Independence but as many of the Vines were uploaded by individuals, WFI hadn't kept copies. They do, however, have a few clips which were uploaded to their facebook page. A search of the #havingacuppa hashtag found the #poorweewummanbrain Vine but not the 'real woman' one. My description of this Vine is based on my memory of it.

[166] Copyright permission permitting.

the past within the programme. Williams created the timeline and running order of the programme, therefore when faced with an over-run on its length, it was up to him to decide where to 'trim the fat' (to use his words). His comment about struggling to fit in a sequence about the activist indicates that he had prioritised other events and interviews over this one. However, the sense of the past being constantly re-evaluated in the present is highlighted in his re-evaluation of the decision, commenting 'in fact looking back now [she] ought to have been someone who we could have interviewed'.

Eyewitnesses to the referendum

The past is constantly re-evaluated and re-contextualised onscreen in *How the Campaign Was Won,* through the use of the 'eyewitness and archive' format which I have commented on in my previous chapter, and in this section I will consider how this functions to establish a narrative about the campaign. When asked about the eye witness and archive format during our interview, Williams claims that he decided on the format because he wanted to 'go back right over the footage and get the people who were involved with it throughout as much as possible to talk to us about it.' As the interviews were recorded so close to the culmination of the two-year campaign, the interviewees were still feeling the emotional and political impact of the topics under discussion. Thus, the eyewitness accounts in *How the Campaign Was Won* offer an opportunity to consider scholarship on memory work.

Annette Kuhn asserts that memory work is 'an active practice of remembering which takes a questioning and critical attitude towards the past and the activity of its (re) construction through memory' (2005: 15). This is evidenced throughout the interviews in *How the Campaign Was Won*. There is an affect of emotional rawness in some of the interviews recorded post-result;

both Blair Jenkins (chief executive of Yes Scotland) and Blair McDougall (chief strategist for Better Together) look physically exhausted, while the then-Scottish Conservative Party leader, Ruth Davidson, talks about feeling tired and deflated rather than jubilant when the result came in, saying on camera, "it didn't feel like what I thought it would feel like". She also talks about being daunted by the task ahead delivering the new powers to Scotland promised during the campaign. Indeed, the reflective nature of Davidson's account, indicates that these interviews are not only eyewitness testimony but also an attempt by the participants of the campaign to make sense of what just happened. This unpicking of the role they played in events by interviewees is reminiscent of Annette Kuhn's description of memory work and re-enactment processes as 'dynamic, interactive, and therefore potentially changing, in flux – contested even: there is memory, and there is counter-memory' (2010: 298-299). The notion of memory and counter-memory, and of the constant re-evaluation of the past in the present, is referenced by Williams in his description during the interview of the way in which the programme works as a record of a particular moment in the past:

> It captures the moment. It captures the way it was in that week or so in the wake of the referendum. If you made it 6 months later it would be entirely different. A year later, entirely different. Because of things like the perceived failure to follow through on the Vow, for instance. You would always be getting into history then. You'd start saying, 'well actually the problems were inherent in this' but at the time we didn't know that.

John Ellis' concept of 'working through' reflects the sentiments expressed by Williams about looking back on *How the Campaign Was Won* as a product of its time. Ellis proposes that television's position as a 'window on the world', combined with its abundance of viewing choices and plethora of narratives aiming to make sense of those world events, means that it presents 'a diffuse

and extensive process of working through' (2000:2). He defines working through as 'a constant (televisual) worrying over issues and emotions, dealing with the feelings of witness through the presentation of a riot of ways of understanding the world without ever coming to any final conclusions' (2000:2). During our interview Williams acknowledged that there is the potential for multiple narratives about the referendum, its causes and its consequences, and also of the possibility of never coming to any final conclusions, claiming 'what was for us, then, the most up to date footage, is now archive and it will feed into the next part of this story and part of this debate'. Indeed, as a master copy of *How the Campaign Was Won* is now stored in BBC Scotland's television archive there is the potential for clips from the programme to be used as archive material in future programmes about the referendum, thus continuing the 'worrying over issues and emotions' Ellis describes. This is evidenced in *Yes/No: Inside the Indyref* (BBC Scotland Channel, 2019), which features many of the television archive clips featured in *How the Campaign Was Won*. The remediation of these archive clips - used to construct a similar narrative about the same events covered in *How the Campaign Was Won* - exemplifies the tension between travelling and solidified memory discussed in the Literature Review. Although the archive material is travelling, it is working to fix a narrative on screen and in cultural memory, illustrating Erll's argument that 'remediation tends to solidify cultural memory, creating and stabilising certain narratives and icons of the past' (2010:393).

The archive and eyewitness format utilised in both *Scotland's Smoking Gun* and *How the Campaign Was Won* can create powerful affective meaning about truth and the past, as, according to Erin Bell:

> when we see a person onscreen affected by their memories, this may affect us too; their experience appears authentic, and particular to them, although they may be one of many. (2010:78).

Similarly, Amy Holdsworth points out that montages such as those in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* and *How the Campaign Was Won* foreground the 'representation and forms of memory on television' and are arguably intended to 'reflect upon the emotional and affective potential of television' (2010:130). However, the 'eyewitnesses' selected for interview in the programme do not necessarily represent every aspect of the campaign. In my last chapter, I reflected that several voices were missing from the narrative about the past presented by *Scotland's Smoking Gun*. There is also an absence in *How the Campaign Was Won*. In interview Williams asserted that he strove for balance in his choice of contributors, claiming:

> You try to balance gender, you try to balance Yes and No, you're trying to get commentators, new voices. One of the aspects of the campaign was that new people came through, kind of new voices that were in it… I also felt quite strongly that there were movements that we had to put in it as well, such as the Women for Independence movement – these were mostly on the Yes side, which of course gives you a problem for balance – the Campaign for Radical Independence, National Collective.

However, the 'new voices' he chose were writers and commentators such as the pro-independence playwright, Alan Bissett, who came to prominence during the campaign and was regularly interviewed by the BBC. Given that the referendum was heralded internationally for the immense uptake in public participation and grassroots activities, and Williams's claim that he wanted to 'reflect that notion… about it being a People's Referendum, you know the notion that this had been ground-up. Because that's how Yes had built it', it is perhaps surprising, then, that the 'new voices' chosen to discuss the campaign within the programme were not ordinary members of the public who had been involved in campaigning.

Williams' defence of interviewing political party leaders, strategists and commentators because, as he stated in interview, 'you wanted to have some sort of idea of what was going on behind the scenes, and so therefore members of the public didn't really jump out' ties in with Marina Dekavalla and Alenka Jelen-Sanchez's statistical analysis of whose voices were heard on the news during the final month of the referendum campaign (2016). Their study confirms a 'well-established journalistic preference for credible elite institutional sources over ordinary citizens' (2016:20) which is also seen in the choice of contributors in *How the Campaign Was Won*. According to Dekavalla and Jelen-Sanchez, despite the appearance of ordinary citizens on news items during the referendum campaign being important because they 'lent the coverage the authenticity of their voices' (2016:20) and 'might potentially have helped to generate more' political engagement (ibid), it was political 'Elites' (politicians and strategists)[167] who were given the most air-time (2016:18-20). Dekavalla and Jelen-Sanchez also note that while *Reporting Scotland* provided several instances of voters discussing the referendum in their own voice, 'the length of time they were offered to speak was less than that given to more elite and official sources' (2016:20). Thus, the framing of the campaign in BBC Scotland news items (for example, who gets to speak and what issues are important) was re-iterated and perpetuated in *How the Campaign Was Won*. Frames play an important role in the presentation of the past within the programme, which I will investigate in my next section.

[167] Dekavalla and Jelen-Sanchez's taxonomy breaks down representation into the following groupings: Elite Official (politicians & institutions), Non-Elite Official (campaigners, small businesses & unions), Expert (academics & specialists) and Unofficial (public) (2016:12). They report that 'male sources dominated every category, apart from non-elite official sources, where men and women were equally represented. Elite sources (both officials and experts) were particularly male-dominated, with men over four times more commonly used than women' (2016:18)

Framing reality

Kitzinger's questioning of the way reality is framed (2000) is pertinent to *How the Campaign Was Won,* as frames play an important role in the programme's narrative. According to Robert M. Entman (1993), 'frames' can be described as the dominant messages or 'hooks' in texts such as news reports, novels and dramas. Entman sums up their nature and function neatly thus:

> Frames… *define problems* – determine what a causal agent is doing with what costs and benefits, usually measured in terms of common cultural values: *diagnose causes* – identify the forces creating the problem; *make moral judgements* – evaluate causal agents and their effects; and *suggest remedies* – offer and justify treatments for the problems and predict their likely effects (1993:52).

From this perspective every event or key issue (currency, economy etc) presented in *How the Campaign Was Won* is a frame. This highlights the importance of assessing how broadcasters such as the BBC incorporated these frames into news items during the campaign and how these frames and messages are represented in *How the Campaign Was Won*.

Dekavalla argues that during the 2014 referendum campaign, journalists employed frames to help the public make sense of what was happening, with the 'game frame' (two opposing teams with one winner) employed in news items and debate shows (2015:4-6). This is neatly referenced in the programme's title. Indeed, Williams claimed in our interview that he chose the title specifically because 'the idea was that both sides set out to win, no side set out to lose the campaign' and 'that would have been the title whichever side won'.

Entman's definition of frames –evaluating causal agents and their effects, as well as suggesting remedies (1993:52) – is also referenced in Williams' statement that he felt it was his duty as a current affairs journalist to analyse and make sense of the campaign. His argument about the necessity of seeking

connections between events highlights a desire to narrativize the past and present a coherent timeline of events:

> Your job - particularly if you're doing any sort of analytical journalism… is to make connections… 'I wonder if that was because of the currency intervention, was it because of Darling's poor performance in the second debate, or Salmond's poor performance in the first debate?' Which of these things caused damage? Was Gordon Brown's intervention right at the end important? Did it make a difference?... You're supposed to be able to analyse and put into context.

This search for context and connection also references Dekavalla's argument that 'by defining what an event is about, frames also define which considerations are relevant in making a decision' (2015:8). In the case of the referendum, the relevant considerations were presented as policy decisions such as the economy, defence, public services, and welfare. These frames are at play in the representation of key moments from the campaign in *How the Campaign Was Won*, from the focus on George Osborne's 'sermon on the pound' speech, in which he stated that the UK Government would reject a currency union with an independent Scotland[168] (with onscreen commentary from Blair Jenkins and Blair McDougall about what a game changer this moment was for both their campaigns) to the montage of politicians campaigning for a No vote warning of the threat to the economy, national security, jobs, pensions, and public services if Scotland became independent. This raises an important point about the role media played in the referendum. As Dekavalla notes:

> Although journalistic professionalism in a liberal democracy requires the media not to interfere with the messages promoted by political elites, but to reflect them fairly and accurately in an effort to let citizens make their

[168] George Osborne's speech given in Edinburgh on 13th February 2014, rejected a currency union between the UK and an independent Scotland 'The Scottish government says that if Scotland becomes independent there will be a currency union and Scotland will share the pound. People need to know – that is not going to happen.' In his response to the Chancellor's announcement, Alex Salmond referred to the speech as the 'sermon on the pound' creating a link between Osborne and Margaret Thatcher's 'Sermon on the Mound' (proposing a spiritual aspect to Capitalism) in Edinburgh in the 1980s.

> own decisions, in practice broadcasters cannot avoid a more active role in the construction of political events (2015:5).

She goes on to state that many of the activities the two campaigns staged during the referendum were created with television coverage as an end goal, while broadcasters themselves put together some of the key events for the official campaigns, such as the two televised leaders' debates (2015:5). She notes that 'broadcasters felt it was the campaigns that framed those debates as a game of performance between politicians, and television simply reflected this' (ibid), echoing Myra Macdonald's assertion that television shapes reality despite the broadcasters' claims that they merely document it (2006). However, as Dekavalla notes, 'they did have choices on how they were set up, how speakers and audiences were positioned and how the moderators led the debate' (2015:5). In other words, their staging of events influenced the narrative about the referendum presented to the public.

Dekavalla's comment that 'many of the activities… staged during the referendum were created with television coverage as an end goal' (2015:6) has been remarked upon by one TV executive as creating an interface 'where box office meets politics' (ibid) and indeed another contributor to Dekavalla's report stated that if there were another referendum it would be reported in the same way, through the same 'prism' (Dekavalla, 2015:7). Similarly, Williams is unapologetic about using frames within *How the Campaign Was Won*. When questioned about whether the binary nature of the campaign (Yes/No, Winner/Loser) made it difficult to make a programme about what happened, he responded:

> No. Makes it much easier. It makes it really easy. You know, you've got two sides knocking lumps out of one another. It makes it more complicated when you have people talking about shades of grey.

When asked to expand on this he claimed:

> TV is always emotional. You have to think in colours and paint quite broadly. A binary campaign like that is great in terms of making TV programmes. It might not be the best thing in the world for democracy, but there's only so much you can do as a TV maker with that. It's up to the people to comport themselves in a different way as well. I think that's one of the things that makes it easier actually. We had quite clear grounds for what was going ahead.

This approach to television programming (and democracy) becomes problematic when viewed in the light of Entman (1993) and Dekavalla & Jelen-Sanchez's (2016) suggestions that political 'Elites' (for example, Yes Scotland and Better Together) can use the media not only to get their message across to the public, but can in fact control which messages the electorate receive and engage with.

It is worth noting here that BBC Scotland's policy regarding objectivity in the reporting of the referendum was to maintain balance in the representation of both sides of the campaign. According to clause 6(1) of the 2016 Royal Charter, one of the BBC's public purposes is:

> to provide impartial news and information to help people understand and engage with the world around them: the BBC should provide duly accurate and impartial news, current affairs and factual programming to build people's understanding of all parts of the United Kingdom and of the wider world. Its content should be provided to the highest editorial standards (2016:5)

The BBC's current approach to impartiality is to provide balance in news items, current affairs and factual programming. For example, during the independence referendum campaign, if a representative of the Yes campaign was involved in a BBC Scotland panel or debate show then a representative of the No campaign would also be featured. Similarly, if pro-Union advocates were interviewed for a *Reporting Scotland* news item, a pro-Independence advocate would be offered the right of reply. Thus, in *How the Campaign Was Won,* an equal amount of Pro-independence and Pro-Union contributors are interviewed and given the

same amount of air-time. However, critics of this policy have pointed out that this approach to balance is not the same as objectivity - and is not equitable - because there is the potential for a certain amount of staging to achieve balance. For example, during the referendum campaign although there was active public engagement with campaigning for both Yes and No, there were more visible Yes campaigners than No campaigners[169]. Therefore, matching shots of Yes and No campaigners on screen might achieve balance, but this approach does not reflect the reality of the situation, leaving the broadcaster open to accusations of bias. This is highlighted in an account given by the editor during our interview of an attempt to portray balance on screen, which entailed actively staging reality. The editor recounts working on a documentary made by the Referendum Unit which featured shots of Yes campaigners knocking on doors and delivering leaflets. He and the programme's director (Brendan O'Hara, who also directed *Road to Referendum*) were told by an executive at BBC Scotland that similar shots of No campaigners would have to be edited in, for the sake of balance, and if these shots were not available then the footage of Yes campaigners must be taken out. In our interview, O'Hara corroborated this account in our interview, claiming 'we'd go to Yes townhall meetings and we'd go here and there'd be Yes activists. Looking for No activists, we had to stage some of it'. According to clause 3 of the Royal Charter:

> The BBC must be independent in all matters concerning the fulfilment of its Mission and the promotion of the Public Purposes, particularly as regards editorial and creative decisions, the times and manner in which

[169] In episode 2 of *Yes/No: Inside the Indyref*, Yes activist Ross Greer, MSP states, 'while we were running ourselves ragged developing all these vocal groups, hundreds of vocal groups, and thousands of volunteers out doing all sorts of stuff, they weren't'. In the same episode Better Together's Blair McDougall claims 'our aim as a campaign was to make sure that nobody picked up a phone to a voter or nobody knocked on a door to a voter without that telephone or that door being answered by an undecided voter'.

> its output and services are supplied, and in the management of its affairs (2016:4).

However, O'Hara's assessment of BBC Scotland's coverage of the campaign highlights the problems with the broadcaster's approach to balance, noting:

> I think that far too often the BBC thought balance meant that you had to artificially construct what was happening on the ground to allow you to go 50:50, whereas the balance would have been to show what was happening, the reality of the situation.

Although Williams claimed in our interview that he attempted to maintain balance in the representation of the two opposing campaign groups (Yes and No) throughout *How the Campaign Was Won*, O'Hara's anecdote highlights the problem with the BBC's approach to balance and exemplifies Corner's argument that 'programmes can be judged to have aesthetic organization and aesthetic effects without their producers acknowledging this' (2003:93). A narrative constructed from contested BBC news footage raises the possibility of the programme having an aesthetic and political organization without Williams' knowledge or acknowledgement.

Archival mistakes

History programmes constructed from television archive material also run the risk of perpetuating mistakes or erroneous representations of the past that the programme-makers might not be aware of. An example of this is the erroneous logo I described in the introduction to this thesis. This section deals with the production and material constraints that led to the mistake and considers what impact this might have on cultural memory. The archival mistake is the erroneous logo on an archive clip of BBC news reporter, Kate Adie, reporting from the House of Commons in 1979 which is featured in *Scotland's Smoking Gun (*introduction illustration 1*)*. The clip has been taken from an off-air broadcast of a programme shown on the BBC Parliament digital channel, rather than from

the original source material (which in this case would be the original 1979 footage stored in the BBC television archive) or from the 'clean', logo-free master copy of the completed programme made for the BBC Parliament channel. In my experience as a practitioner, editors always ask for clean footage because logos are an aesthetic disruption, serving as a reminder that the version of the past presented on screen is constructed. Finding the source material also acts as a fact check; in this case, viewing the original 1979 programme the clip was taken from would have offered the opportunity to confirm that it represented the claims made for it in the BBC Parliament programme, that it was not being used out of context, and that there were no rights restrictions on the material. This digital version was used in the edit suite as a placeholder until the original source material could be tracked down. However, sourcing material from 1979 in the BBC television archive is a time-consuming job, involving contacting Written Archives and navigating Fabric, the cumbersome tape-based archive system. As the edit schedule for *Scotland's Smoking Gun* was extremely tight, the original material was not found before the broadcast deadline, and the programme was transmitted with the BBC Parliament logo. Although this mistake did not specifically affect the version of the past presented on screen, it highlights what can happen when scheduling and a director's creative vision clash, or when archive material is not easily accessible, or freelancers new to the software and the BBC rights clearance system might be tempted to use material which is not clearable or useable.[170] The erroneous logo now has a shelf-life because *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, like *How the Campaign Was Won,* has been stored in the Digital Library, BBC Scotland's self-service digital archive[171], meaning clips can be accessed by programme-makers and reused in other

[170] I will discuss the archiving systems at the BBC and issues with access and casualisation of labour in more detail in my next chapter.

[171] I will describe how the Digital Library works in more detail in the next chapter.

programmes. The erroneous logo's journey from screen to archive, and potentially to screen again highlights the potential dangers in recycling archive material and the possible misrepresentation of the past contained therein.

Tight schedules for programme-makers at BBC Scotland means that the Digital Library is often first port of call for archive material[172] which can mean that a script is written to the archive available in the Digital Library. The editor *of How the Campaign Was Won* confirmed this in interview with an account of making a programme after the General Election in 2015 about the history of the Scottish Labour Party. According to the editor, the schedule for making the hour-long archive-based programme was ten days, and no archive researcher was assigned to the programme, meaning the production team were 'raiding programmes that had been made about the same subject.' As he recalled in our interview, 'we were coming up with the same footage that had been used again and again and again' and thus:

> essentially, we were remaking programmes as opposed to saying anything new. So, the only way to say anything new was to change what was being said underneath the pictures… we had to use the archive that we had and tell our story round about that, rather than coming up with a definitive history and illustrating it.

In other words the past was re-written to fit the picture. Sobchack identifies the potential for programmes reliant on recycled archive to function both as a source of 'historical awakening' and as a site for 'hegemonic consensus' and Garde-Hanson expands on this, claiming media institutions 'invariably write… narratives in ways that glorify not only themselves but the cultural hegemony.' (2011:50). Therefore, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* and *How the Campaign Was Won* - composed almost entirely from BBC television archive material - might introduce an audience to a past they weren't aware of, but there is a danger of

[172] This has definitely been my experience when working at the BBC.

creating a homogenised version of the past and a dominant cultural memory which only reflects the broadcaster's worldview.

Conclusion.

Referencing Myra Macdonald's argument that all components of documentary production are staged (2006), in this chapter I have focused on the scripting, production, and editing processes involved in making *How the Campaign Was Won* in order to examine how the director's assertion in interview that he 'scripts to pictures' is put into practice. I have also considered what it means for cultural memory of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum when a narrative about the past is created from a selection of television archive that is subject to material and institutional constraints. I have demonstrated the ways in which factors such as budget, scheduling, and availability, as well as institutional editorial guidelines, can affect the choice of archive material and therefore shape the version of the past presented on screen.

As I have shown in this chapter, television archive material can be regarded as a uniquely evocative tool which broadcasters can utilise to shape public understanding of the nation's past. But this becomes problematic if the archive material being used to shape cultural memories contains inaccuracies or contested messages.–This matters in the case of *How the Campaign Was Won* because the programme is now classed as television archive material, stored in BBC Scotland's Digital Library to be used by future productions. Indeed, as the illustrations for this chapter show, this has already happened; footage presented in *How the Campaign Was Won* has been re-used in *Yes/No: Inside the Indyref* in the same context, thus establishing a specific narrative about the referendum which has the potential, via repetition, to bed into public understanding of the event.

In my next chapter, I will explore the ways in which BBC Scotland's archive department work to preserve the archive and maintain accessibility for future generations of programme-makers and the potential impact of BBC Scotland's increasing casualisation of labour on the way the archive is accessed and used.

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Chapter 5: 'At the Coalface.' Archival Practices at BBC Scotland

Throughout this thesis I have argued that the material in BBC Scotland's television archive is an instrument of power, vital to the formation of cultural memory. I have also proposed that the shape of the memory created by archival footage lies not just within the frame, but in its use and re-use. The re-contextualization of television archive material that occurs as it moves from programme to programme, via various archival institutions (as evidenced in my textual analysis of *Scotland's Smoking Gun*) illustrates the way memory is constantly developing and changing. However, the recycling of the same television archive material in programmes such as *How the Campaign Was Won and Yes/No: Inside the Indyref* creates fixed narratives, confirming Astrid Erll's argument that remediation creates and stabilises specific narratives about the past, which in turn solidify in cultural memory (2008:393). Indeed, Erll and Rigney argue that memory is not just mediated, it is re-mediated (2009). With reference to their claim that 'all representations of the past draw on available media technologies, on existent media products, on patterns of representation and medial aesthetics' (2009:4), I have so far explored archival aesthetics in *Scotland's Smoking Gun,* and the process of remediation in in the production and editing of *How the Campaign Was Won*. Now, in this chapter I will focus on the archive as institution, examining BBC Scotland's television archive, which operates as both a production library and heritage archive, along with the archival practices employed by its staff to facilitate remediation through media technologies, to consider the role it plays in shaping cultural memory of Scotland's past.

Foucault (1972) and Derrida (1998) famously argued that archives tell us what we can say about the past in the present and scholars such as Burton (2003), Spigel (2010), Assmann (2011), Gaarde-Hansen (2011) and Robertson (2011) all argue that archival institutions play a crucial role in the construction of our understanding of the past. They are often the first port of call for historians and programme-makers to find evidence with which to construct a narrative about the past. Indeed, Craig Robertson argues that history is 'devoted to classifying, fixing, stabilizing, and authorizing memories' (2011:5) and is reliant on 'the production of truthful evidence and facts'(ibid) to achieve this, with 'the idea of the objective archive… fundamental to this claim'(ibid). However, as I have noted in previous chapters, truth is a slippery concept, memory is unstable, and history is a construct often influenced by power. Similarly, the notion of an archive as a neutral and objective storehouse is a fallacy. Antoinette Burton claims that 'archives are provisional, interested, calcified in both deliberate and unintentional ways' and therefore unreliable (2003: 26) while Robertson describes the material stored in an archive as a 'pact with the future' (2011:5) claiming that 'what the present chooses to save in this pact produces the basis for our future understanding of the past' (ibid). In other words, the contents (and absences) of archival institutions reflect those institutions' agendas and attitudes towards historical importance and cultural worth.

Dagmar Brunow argues that audiovisual archives work as sites through which 'knowledge and facts are continuously recreated and transformed (2017:99) but Robertson warns that 'when media recordings and texts are primarily thought of as important evidence for social and cultural history it fosters particular narratives and specific ways of thinking about media' (2011:5).

Therefore, it is crucial to examine the organisation, structure and maintenance of archival institutions. Unstable and subjective, constantly updating yet never complete, influenced both by state power and curatorial subjectivity, archives are the physical and theoretical meeting place where the present reconstructs the past as history. And, as I have shown in my previous chapters, historical narratives constructed in the archive have the potential to bed into cultural memory and shape a nation's understanding of its past.

Seen in this light, then, BBC Scotland's television archive is a prime case study for research into how archival institutions can shape cultural memory of the past. Lynn Spigel argues that 'the creation of the television archive is deeply entwined in issues of institutional and state power' (2010: 55), and BBC Scotland's television archive illustrates this point, occupying a unique position as the repository for output made by a public broadcaster, which is inaccessible to the public and operates under strict Government guidelines. Its dual role as a heritage archive (preserving and providing access to over 60 years' worth of television and radio material made by and for BBC Scotland) and production library (supplying footage for inclusion in current television and radio programmes) also evidences its potential to shape narratives about the past for dissemination into cultural memory. Thus, by investigating the structure and organisation of the archive, this chapter will foreground the conditions under which BBC Scotland forms a pact with the future about how to represent the past.

The integral role that archivists play in constructing what can be said about the past is also worthy of study. In her theorization of the archive, Aleida Assmann argues that without human intervention and interpretation, archives are merely storehouses. However, she claims that only scholars and artists have

the necessary expertise and understanding to convey meaning to the sleeping assets on the shelf, as this 'would exceed the competence of the archivist' (2010:103). Terry Cook (2011) and Dagmar Brunow (2017) counter this claim, arguing that archivists are curators, gatekeepers, and enablers, 'the principal actor(s) in defining, choosing and constructing' the archive (Cook 2011:614), and in facilitating access to the past. Yet, despite the growing range of scholarship on archives as institutions, the study of the working practices of archivists and the challenges they face in attempting to 'simultaneously preserve unique program content on this fugitive media *and* provide access to it' (Compton, 2007:133) is less well covered. Margaret Compton's essay (2007) on the work of archivists, based on her own experiences, is an eloquent cry for understanding of the labour and value of audiovsual archivists, foregrounding the obstacles they face in terms of diminishing preservation budgets, format fragility and copyright restrictions. That many of these challenges are still facing archivists over a decade later and feature heavily in the research I have conducted, indicates the pressing need for an evaluation of the labour involved in maintaining an archive, and an increased awareness of the value of the role of the archivist. During my research, a freelance archive producer expressed frustration at the lack of value given to her work by programme-makers who did not understand what it involved, noting that: "If something wasn't available, they'd just say 'oh she's crap at her job'".[173] My own experience as an archive producer has been that many of the production executives and programme makers I have worked with have little comprehension of the work involved in managing archive material's journey from shelf to screen, and as a result regard television archive material as a quick and cheap option for programme-making. This chapter will

[173] Interview conducted with freelance archive producer as part of SGSAH/BBC Scotland internship in July 2018. Permission given to use in this thesis

provide an in-depth analysis of the work of the archivists at BBC Scotland, revealing the hidden labour and expertise involved in preserving and providing access to over 60 years' worth of analogue and digital television history.

It is worth noting here that at the time of conducting my research interviews, the department under investigation in this chapter was called Media Management because this title was considered to be a good way of reflecting the broad scope of work the team covered in terms of maintaining the heritage archive, enabling production library access and overseeing data wrangling for the digital element of the archive's holdings. However, during interviews with members of the team in 2016 and 2017, concern was expressed about the potential of the name to influence production teams' perception (and value) of the department and it is interesting to note that in 2018 its name was changed to Archive Department, with team members now called archivists instead of media managers.

Using evidence based on interviews with senior members of BBC Scotland's Archive Department as well as my own experience of accessing material from its vaults and digital storage platforms, I will investigate the challenges the team face in balancing preservation and access, and how they work to 'liberate footage from the shelves' (Brunow, 2015:15). I will also consider how material constraints such as staffing levels, format vulnerability, and technical obsolescence in storage platforms can have an impact on the preservation and re-presentation of archive material, and how this has the potential to influence the narrative of future programmes about both the independence referendum and Scottish history more broadly.

The statistical information about the size and organisation of BBC Scotland's television archive comes from interviews I carried out between

December 2016 and July 2018. Firstly, in December 2016, I interviewed Gregor Marks, who at the time of interview was the Archive Manager of BBC Scotland's Digital Library, together with Charlie McCann, who at the time was a Media Manager, and is now managing the Digital Library[174]. The interview focused on archiving processes during the referendum campaign. I conducted a follow-up interview with Marks in January 2017, to gather specific information about the digital challenges facing the team in future-proofing the referendum collection. In July 2017, I interviewed Vicky Plaine, head of Media Management (now Head of Archive) at BBC Scotland, about the broadcaster's policies and strategies regarding staffing and organising the archive. In July 2018, I conducted a follow-up interview with Plaine and McCann to discuss the launch of a new archive system, the Digital Archive, along with changes in the department, such as McCann's new job role. I also interviewed a freelance archive producer at this time, as part of a BBC internship project set up in partnership with the Scottish Graduate School of Arts and Humanities. She agreed to excerpts from that interview relating to her experiences with using BBC archive systems being used in this thesis. My own observations about the accessibility of the archive and how this impacts on programme aesthetics and narratives, based on my experience as a practitioner, are also included in my analysis.

Theorising the archive

In my previous chapters I have explored the physical manifestation of forgetting and remembering in the edit room, and in the construction of programme narratives which smooth out historical or political incongruities. In this chapter, my research into curatorial practices considers how the archivists working in the Archive Department at BBC Scotland facilitate institutional and cultural

[174] Marks and McCann changed their roles in 2018.

forgetting and remembering. The ideas put forward in this chapter draw heavily on the work of Aleida Assmann, so firstly I will provide a brief overview of some of her key concepts about memory and archives, considering how they intersect with my research, before moving on to an analysis of the organisational and institutional structure of BBC Scotland's television archive. A description of the history, construction, and managerial organisation of the archive, including an overview of the analogue and digital elements of its library sets the scene for an analysis of the work of the archive team. I will focus on their role during the independence referendum campaign, examining their approach to preserving and cataloguing referendum material for future access. I will also examine the pressures they faced during this period, in terms of schedules, budget, and staff levels, considering how this impacted on their ability to manage the additional demands on both the archive and production library aspects of the resource, brought about BBC Scotland's coverage of the campaign. Finally, I will detail the obstacles currently facing the team in maintaining the archive - such as disintegrating tape stock and technical obsolescence in recording and digitizing equipment - and describe the initiatives they are putting in place to future-proof the archive for the next generation of programme-makers and scholars.

Assmann's scholarship on memory provides an excellent theoretical framework for assessing the constructed nature of the archive and the curatorial nature of archivists' work, and her thoughts on the importance of forgetting for memory creation are particularly relevant to this chapter. She argues that forgetting is a precept for remembering, claiming, 'when thinking about memory we must start with forgetting' (2010 97). As she points out, total recall is impossible for the human brain, therefore 'in order to remember some things, other things must be forgotten' (ibid). What is forgotten and what is

remembered is determined by a process of selection based on neural and social networks, influenced by cultural biases and personal interests, and often eradicating or burying incongruous or painful memories. Therefore, she contends that 'if we concede that forgetting is the normality of personal and cultural life, then remembering is the exception' (2010:98). Further to this, she claims that 'remembering 'in the cultural sphere requires special and costly precautions' (2010:98) and that these precautions take the shape of cultural institutions' (ibid). An example is BBC Scotland's television archive, which is a media institution charged with the costly task of facilitating 'remembering in the cultural sphere' (ibid) via the preservation of television archive material. There are special and costly precautions at play in the preservation process; physical storage space is limited and digitisation is costly, therefore the archivists are often called upon to judge whether material is worthy of a place within the archive.

The balancing act the team working in BBC Scotland's Archive Department must carry out in their work, choosing which material to preserve for current and future access, also intersects with Assmann's concept of *storage* and *functional* memory (2010). While storage memory is defined as dead or passive, functional memory is living, working memory. Assmann's visualisation of institutional archives as a 'lost and found office for what is no longer needed or immediately understood' (2010:105) is an excellent metaphor for the concept of storage and functional memory, which in turn can be equated with the analogue/digital structure of BBC Scotland's television archive. The un-digitized film and tape stock sitting in BBC Scotland's archive vaults and the uncatalogued programmes from earlier in the broadcaster's history (when, according to Plaine, programme archiving was ad-hoc and subjective, reliant on production

secretaries[175] and producers saying, 'well I'll just keep that aside') represent storage/analogue memory. Meanwhile, the digitized footage available for immediate use on the in-house digital production library is the archive's functional/digital memory.

According to Brunow, the relationship between functional and storage memory is 'echoed in the relation between archive and remediation' (2015:15) and the evidence of this can be seen in the work that BBC Scotland's archivists carry out to facilitate the flow between storage and functional memory, seeking to re-discover, re-contextualise and re-present material which had previously been forgotten or considered irrelevant. Black and white television material in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* such as the clips of dancers performing on *The White Heather Club* (BBC Scotland 1958-68) is an example of the fruition of that work. Liberated from the shelves by the Archive Department as part of the Legacy Collection - an initiative set up by the team to identify and digitise key material from BBC Scotland's broadcasting history on vulnerable formats - the material was made available for use in the digital production library. The inclusion of this material in *Scotland's Smoking Gun* serves the programme's specific narrative about Scotland's journey from monochrome tradition towards technicolour modernity, which in turn plays a role in shaping cultural memory of Scotland's past. This recycling and remediation of footage carefully selected by the Archive Department team perfectly illustrates Assmann's claim that 'working memory stores and reproduces the cultural capital of a society that is continuously recycled and re-affirmed' (2010:101). Further, thanks to the digital Legacy Collection, there is the potential for *The White Heather Club*

[175] There is scope for further research into the hidden labour of production secretaries (traditionally a female role at the BBC) as evidenced by the AHRC-funded project 'Women's Work, Working Women: A Longitudinal Study of Women Working in the Film and Television Industries (1933-1989)' led by Dr Vicky Ball and Dr Melanie Ball Jan 2014-June 2017.

dancers to be reused and remediated in future programme narratives, confirming Assmann's argument that:

> 'whatever has made it into the active cultural memory has passed rigorous processes of selection, which secure for certain artefacts a lasting place in the cultural working memory of a society' (2010:101).

In other words, the material chosen to be part of the digital library/active cultural memory, becomes part of a canon, to be used and reused by current and future programme-makers. Assmann argues that the canon created by functional memory is essential for a nation state to create a narrative about its past which is then 'taught, embraced, and referred to as their collective autobiography' (2010:101), thus perpetuating the narrative and establishing the canon. This highlights the crucial role that a public archive institution such as BBC Scotland's television archive plays in creating a narrative about Scotland's past, which in turn permeates cultural memory. Thus, it is imperative to study who decides what material is functional within the archive, and who is granted access to it.

Accessing the archive

BBC Scotland's Archive Department is based in the Pacific Quay building in Glasgow and is staffed by 23 archivists and archive managers, overseen by Vicky Plaine, the Head of Archive. The team are tasked with managing preservation and access to the contents of the television and radio archives. Composed of audiovisual material dating back to 1952, it is an important cultural representation of BBC Scotland's history, as well as of Scottish and British history. It houses heritage research initiatives, such the Legacy Collection, as well as all current broadcast television material according to the terms set out in section 69 of the BBC's current Royal Charter Agreement (2016:43), resulting

in a constantly expanding archive. In our interview Gregor Marks discussed how BBC Scotland interprets the terms of the Charter Agreement, claiming that:

> anything that is unique that is broadcast, the thrust from the Charter is that it should be archived. And something like the referendum is especially important, given the historical significance of it.

Plaine expanded on this during our interview, claiming, 'all published content gets captured' at BBC Scotland. However, it is important to note that McCann pointed out in interview that the BBC is under no obligation to store rushes, with Marks commenting that the terms of the Charter Agreement only relate to broadcast material, not to the paratextual material such as rushes, unused interviews, and working edits, associated with programme production. I will return to this later in the chapter, focusing on the curatorial practices of the Archive Department in deciding whether or not this material is worthy of inclusion within the archive.

The material holdings of the archive are stored at BBC Scotland's headquarters in the Pacific Quay building in Glasgow. A climate-controlled vault on the first-floor houses archival stock on 16mm film and various tape formats, including HD, Beta, DV and VHS. The servers required for storing digital material are also located on the first floor, as is Media Central, the technical hub where tape mastering and duplication, digitisation of tape-based material, ingestion of digital content into avid editing suites, and data-wrangling, is carried out. On the third floor is a specially modified Steenbeck suite which is used for digitising 16mm film. As there is only one Steenbeck in the suite, digitisation is scheduled according to priority, which, like rushes archiving, necessitates value judgements from the team. During the referendum campaign the suite only had telecine capability for transferring 16mm to DVD, and for a period of time towards the end of the campaign the Steenbeck deck was broken, meaning no

viewing or transfer work could be done at all, impacting negatively on archive programme production.

While access to the archive vaults and Steenbeck suite are either restricted or by appointment only, the Archive Department staff work in an open-plan office space on the third floor. Members of the team also have desk space in the News Department on the fourth floor, which is also open-plan. Thus programme-makers in the building have easy access to the curators of the archive and slightly more restricted access to the physical archive itself. However, part of the design concept for the Pacific Quay building is that it operates as a 'connected building', with digital production processes playing a major role. As such, the digital element of BBC Scotland's television archive, known as the Digital Library is an important element of the connected building. It is an at-desk self-service system which enables programme makers to access and edit BBC archive material from their BBC computers.

As the Digital Library is BBC Scotland's main archiving system and is used heavily by BBC Scotland production staff, it is worth giving a fuller description of it here. Launched in 2008, It is a version of the Viz1 Media Asset Management System, bought off the shelf and customized by the Media Management team. One example given by Marks of the changes made to the software, is a customizing of its taxonomy system to include the Scottish field game, Shinty. The system is desk-based, meaning that if a BBC staff member has the software installed onto their computer in a BBC Scotland building, they can access the Digital Library. Its function is to provide a self-service production library, enabling in-house programme-makers to access content for inclusion in their programmes. The Archive Department staff have special access permissions for editing metadata and data-wrangling, but there is no access hierarchy for

viewing, meaning all users can view all the digital content stored in the system on their computers. They can then make clip selections and send broadcast quality versions of those clips to any of the Avid edit suites in the building, ready for inclusion in a programme, copyright permitting. Images of the Digital Library's interface can be seen in illustrations *5 1-5*, featuring some of the metadata and search capabilities, including tagging and logging, all of which are created and managed by the Archive Department. The flag system on the left-hand side of the interface indicates the copyright status – green indicates that the content is copyright free, yellow indicates potential third-party issues[176], and red is a warning that the content has copyright restrictions, and cannot be used without further investigation into the clearance situation[177]. The user is supposed to check the copyright status flagged and then do further research on its exact nature by checking Programme as Completed forms[178].

The ethos behind the Digital Library's connected, open-access approach to archive is to allow programme-makers more autonomy in their archival choices, and to make production more streamlined, by speeding up the selection process and cutting out the need for additional staff such as archivists (or to use the term used by Plaine in our interview, 'mediated researchers'). During the interview, Plaine stated that there were budgetary reasons behind the move towards self-service programme-making, claiming:

> we've focused more on technology and self-research. That was really pushed. We had quite a lot of redundancies when bringing in technology,

[176] Third party copyright indicates that a royalty or payment is due to an actor, contributor, musician, or writer, or to a sporting body or broadcaster.

[177] Clearance is the term used for ensuring all copyright issues have been resolved and the material has no restrictions on use.

[178] Programme as Completed forms should be filled in at the end of every production, giving full details about the contents of the programme, including source and copyright status of any archive material. These forms are then stored in Written Archives or Production Intake and are intended as a reference source for programme-makers wishing to use archive material from the programme in question.

> that we were to be self-research oriented rather than doing any mediated research which was very people heavy.

However, while the digital archive makes access easier for programme-makers, there is a danger that the removal of expert archivists from the process causes problems. During our interview, Plaine noted that there is a lack of training for staff and freelancers at BBC Scotland in how to use the digital archive, and how to find, access and transfer archive material. This has the potential to impact detrimentally not only on the quality of the programmes produced but also on the narratives about Scotland and its past disseminated into cultural memory. As one member of the Archive Department told me,

> Users don't always understand the level of work to get this material accessible. So there is a 'why not?' when they can't get it immediately'. The reality is that self-service only works if there is a team of people to service it. On demand only works if the chain of events runs smoothly[179].

Who gets access to the Digital Library, and the impact that can have on narratives about the past, is also worthy of discussion. Although registered users are given full access to the contents of the Digital Library, who gets access to the library itself is problematic. As it is specific to Scotland and only available in BBC Scotland buildings, independent companies or programme-makers in other parts of the BBC network cannot access this service. There are also limitations on what the Digital Library can store. Because the system is managed by BBC Scotland, only content made by or for BBC Scotland is stored in the library. To resolve these issues with access and content, independent companies making programmes for BBC Scotland are assigned a designated archivist from the Archive Department, who liaises with them about their archive needs. Meanwhile, BBC staff from other parts of the network, or BBC Scotland staff looking for content made elsewhere in the BBC, must access

[179] interview with Archive Department Staff member in June 2018 as part of SGSAH/BBC internship)

archive material through the other archiving systems in use across the BBC network.

Currently, the main archiving systems across the network are Fabric and the Digital Archive. Created as part of the Digital Media Initiative (DMI) which ran from 2008 to 2013[180], Fabric is accessible from any BBC computer which has been loaded with the software and was intended to provide the online archive and database element of the DMI. However, the digital viewing facility on Fabric has never worked, meaning users must choose clips from its text database. When the DMI was shut down, the elements of Fabric which worked – the searchable text database and the tape-ordering facility – were kept on. According to Plaine, the Digital Archive was built 'to fill those gaps that the DMI failed to deliver'. It is an online tool for searching and viewing television content available across the network[181]. Launched in 2017, Plaine reported that it started with 'a back catalogue of about 8000 television programmes' including some previously digitised content kept at the BBC Archive Centre at Perivale. Although the digitisation project is ongoing and all new file-based television programmes can be stored in the Digital Archive, Fabric is still necessary for searching and accessing older television archive material. I will examine Fabric in more detail later in the chapter, assessing how the flaws in its system impact on programmes-makers' archival choices.

During our interview, Plaine claimed that the launch of the Digital Archive 'just confused people even more' as there was already a plethora of archiving

[180]The Digital Media Initiative was an IT project in development between 2008 and 2013. According to the BBC's own reporting, the initiative was intended to produce new online editing tools, an online archive of the BBC's programmes and a new database. The project encountered several major technical problems and went severely over budget. After a spend of £98 million the project was abandoned in 2013, and the proposed digital element of Fabric was never completed. A Parliamentary group called the Public Accounts Committee, chaired by Margaret Hodge MP, investigated the project and issued a report in 2014 branding it 'a complete failure' https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-26963723

[181] In interview, Plaine noted that the Digital Archive is only for television content because Radio, News, and Sport had created their own informally named digital archives.

systems in use throughout the BBC, all of which are still in place[182]. She recognises the difficulties inherent in programme-makers being encouraged to access what she describes as 'a huge repository of systems which aren't the easiest to use'. During the interview she expanded on this, claiming the systems are 'incredibly cumbersome and bureaucratic' and 'almost impossible for people to understand', making it, in her opinion, 'really difficult to come in and work'. While the Archive Department staff are able to offer support to BBC Scotland Digital Library users and the BBC intranet offers advice on some of the online systems[183], Plaine noted that there is no overall training available to programme-makers offering joined-up guidance on how to access material from the systems, all with different catalogues and technical specification. On the lack of cohesion in the training offered, she stated, 'there are things like the production tool kit, which are supposed to give access to all of these, but no one area will actually give you the knowledge you might need.' She sees this as a missed opportunity, pointing out that 'when you make things accessible it doesn't mean that everyone can immediately use or understand archive'. During the interview she went on to claim:

> We put so much time and effort into building these systems. It's a phenomenal resource, it's incredibly expensive for the BBC, we want people to use them which is why we've changed the model of working. But yet we don't help people use them'.

Even if users understand how to operate all the systems, working across them can still be problematic as they are not all integrated. Commenting on her work for an independent company making a programme for BBC Scotland, the freelance archive producer interviewed for this research expressed frustration with trying to work across non-integrated systems. Her comments below are in

[182]See Appendix 6 for current list of archive systems and research tools

[183] for example, the BBC Research Gateway page offers advice on how to access Elvis, Fabric, InFax and the Digital Archive.

relation to working with Redux, a low-resolution digital archive of off-air recordings of BBC programmes used as a search tool by programme makers:

> It's madness that the BBC programme number isn't included on that page [Redux]. The dates on Redux don't always match with Fabric, so when I go into the Beeb to try and find the programme numbers in order to order master material and PasCs, I know I won't locate all of them. As there are four or five download options on the Redux page, it's ridiculous that none are BITC, as the time codes don't match exactly with master tapes.

She went on to explain that this a problem because 'Redux is often used for edit screeners, before HD tapes are ordered for master material' meaning time is wasted trying to match up timecodes and programme numbers between the screener and the master tape. Although the Archive Research Portal, launched in 2018, is intended to overcome problems with working across different systems by enabling BBC programme makers and independent programme makers working for the BBC to access a number of BBC systems for research and reuse,[184] currently it can only be used for searching and browsing. Master clips must be ordered from the source archive systems, which still have access issues. As the freelance archive producer pointed out in an email exchange:

> I've also given up on externally using the Digital Archive. Achieving access took ages, and now that I have it I'm sure the same searches in-house and externally aren't giving me the same results. So, I've reverted to booking appointments and going in.

My own experience of trying to access material via the various BBC archive systems was that it could be difficult and time-consuming. Often, when schedules were tight, I found it easier to go to the most user-friendly archive database, which, at BBC Scotland, is the Digital Library, and I would often visit the Collections menu as an initial (and sometimes sole) point of research. The Collections menu offers packages of clips and programmes grouped around

[184] Current systems available via Archive Search are the Digital Archive, Fabric, Redux, BBC Scotland Digital Library and BBC Northern Ireland Archives high resolution clips for inclusion in programmes. https://archivesearch.tools.bbc.co.uk/about

popular themes, such as ‘the Royal collection’ and ‘the Referendum collection’, put together by the Archive Department and intended as a tool to help programme-makers find footage more easily. The curatorial aspect of the team’s role is emphasised in these collections, which both create a canon of material and facilitate its dissemination. However, while easy access to carefully curated archive material pertaining to key events in Scottish history and culture is a boon to programme-makers, there is the potential for them to rely on those collections exclusively, without probing deeper into the archive for alternative versions of events. Further, as I have illustrated in previous chapters, using archive material from just one source can create a homogenised version of the past, and when that source is an institution of power with its own specific world-view, then its homogenised representation of the past is problematic.

The problems caused by tight schedules and lack of training are exacerbated by the increasing casualisation of labour within production staff. Freelance programme-makers new to the software and the BBC rights clearance system, and with no training, potentially run the risk of including material in their programme which isn’t clearable or is being used out of context. Similarly, they might miss out on material which could add diversity to their programme’s narrative, because they don’t know how to search the Digital Library. In interview Plaine described the current situation as ‘a dangerous time’, a perfect storm of inexperienced users accessing archive material via cumbersome systems which ‘does create a lot of vulnerabilities’. The example of the erroneous watermark, and its journey from programme to archive and (potentially) to programme again, which I described in my introduction, highlights that errors

and omissions have a shelf life and can affect the shape of narratives about the past for generations to come.

Plaine also argued that errors and omissions in archival workflow at BBC Scotland are increasingly a consequence of casualised, short-term production staff contracts. This too can have a negative impact on programme content. In interview she claimed that short-term contracts leave little or no time for 'clear-up' at the end of a production. This is the period when all contributor rights and clearance issues are confirmed and documented in the Programme as Completed forms by a member of the production team. When asked about the consequence of under-resourcing post-production, she replied:

> If paperwork isn't completed effectively at the end of a programme, and often it's never even submitted, the next person who wants to use that programme, or excerpts from it, doesn't have access to that information.

Thus, without the correct archival processes in place, such as the completion of Programme as Completed paperwork, programme-makers cannot interpret and contextualise archive material properly or assess the rights status effectively.

The problems I have highlighted in this section, namely a casualised, untrained workforce accessing non-integrated self-service archival systems under budgetary and time constraints, indicates that for a 'connected' building to work efficiently, BBC management need to think more deeply about a connected approach to archive systems and the role of expert archivists in supporting programme-makers. The current situation presents a risk of homogenous or erroneous representations of the past permeating cultural memory, through constant use and re-use as part of the archival canon.

Despite issues with access and training, the Digital Library is a remarkable tool for preserving and accessing archive material.[185] Indeed, a comparison with the problems involved in accessing the network Fabric system highlights the value of the Digital Library. I am unable to include any images of the Fabric system in this thesis, due to copyright and data protection issues, but the text-based database is searchable by programme name, key word, production code, and transmission date. However, the user can only choose programmes, not clips, and the format the programmes are delivered on is either tape (mainly HD, Betacam and Beta SP, but sometimes VHS and DVcam) or DVD. In some cases, a programme is also available on 16mm film, but users outside of BBC Scotland must pay for an external company to digitise the footage or telecine to tape.[186] Tapes are ordered from the BBC Archive Centre at Perivale and are put onto an overnight van for orders outside London. Due to cost cutting, in 2016 the overnight van running between Perivale and Pacific Quay was reduced from a nightly service to three times a week, and in 2018 to two nights a week, meaning programme-makers at BBC Scotland have to factor waiting time into edit schedules. When the tapes reach their destination, they need to be viewed on a Beta player, in order for the viewer to assess whether or not the material is worth using.[187] Illustration *5-2* shows an image of the main viewing station on the third floor at Pacific Quay, which serves the whole building apart from News and Sport, who have their own station. During the referendum campaign, I successfully advocated for a station to be dedicated to the Referendum Unit, but usually productions are reliant on the main station. As this station is unmanned

[185] In interview Plaine claimed that the Digital Library had been intended as a benchmark for the rest of the network but for various reasons this never happened.

[186] The in-house telecine facility in TV Centre, W12 was shut down a few years ago, meaning all BBC telecine requirements outside of BBC Scotland have to be outsourced. The expense of doing this can be prohibitive to a production.

[187] As a practitioner I would often find that the programme delivered did not match the description on the database, or just wasn't really what I was looking for.

and self-service, there is always the possibility that it will be broken or that new users will not know how to operate it.[188] Once a user has chosen clips, they hand over the tape and the relevant time codes to technicians in Media Central, who digitize the clips and send them to the edit rooms.

Evidently, Fabric is a much more cumbersome system than the Digital Library, and Plaine stated in our interview that 'Fabric was a disaster in a lot of ways. I think that's roundly recognised.' Marks expanded on this, claiming, 'We have to work with production staff to mitigate the effect of Fabric all the time.' Helping production staff to navigate Fabric, or any of the other archive systems, adds to the Archive Department's already heavy workload, which can have a negative impact on the maintenance of the archive. As Marks noted in interview, short term contracts and flux within production environments leads to additional pressure for the archivists 'helping explain how the system works when they maybe don't have the time or it's not been factored in'. This leaves little time for the team to conduct their own research work, investigating the contents of the archive in search of what might have been forgotten on the shelves. Marks expressed frustration at this situation, remarking:

> there's a research element to the Media Management[189] role that in the last decade hasn't been as encouraged because we've been doing other things. I would like to see that grow again. In that way we can better help researchers, and it makes our knowledge of what's available better.

Further, in interview, Plaine argued that a diverse range of archive material can add context and texture to a programme's content, indicating the importance of dedicating time to research; viewing material, searching databases, and checking catalogue details. In interview, Marks discussed spending his lunch hours viewing random selections of tapes and DVDs from the archive to get an

[188] Both of these situations have happened to me.
[189] The interview was conducted when the department was still called Media Management.

idea of their content and increase his knowledge of the archive's holdings. Similarly, working in the Referendum Unit on a twelve-month contract meant I was able to factor in general research time as well as specific programme-related clip searches.[190] Marks also stated that production staff often ask Archive Department staff to help them source archive material, resulting in the team 'doing more research for them than they probably should'. He expanded on this, claiming:

> They want to find the best material. They really want to find that piece of archive that's going to make the difference; that piece of footage that hasn't surfaced since it was first broadcast, or perhaps it's never been broadcast, it's only ever sat on a rushes shelf. So yeah, there can be quite a bit of pressure from productions.

However, finding 'the best material' can be time consuming and require an in-depth knowledge of all the archiving systems. As Marks put it:

> the sheer volume of historical material that we're dealing with, and the legacy of the different systems, the different ways they've been catalogued, different places that they're held, different formats that they're on requires specialist knowledge.

Here then are echoes of Assmann's concept of the knowledge within the archive being inert without specialist intervention. Without the technical knowledge and specialist research skills of the Archive Department staff, there is a risk that the archive 'that's going to make the difference' will be left on the shelf. I will explore more thoroughly the value of the archivists, and their contribution to the broadcaster's pact with the future in my next section.

Archiving the referendum: The work of the media management team.

While my previous section focused on the problems caused to archival programme-making at BBC Scotland by undervaluing archivists, in this section I will focus on their value through an analysis of the work they do to maintain the

[190] Although I had more time to dedicate to general archive research over the course of my contract, programme schedules were still very tight, and directors often had specific footage requests, meaning my research findings were not always used.

archive and provide access to its contents. As Plaine asserted in interview, although archivists are expensive 'they are very specialised and it is hard to recreate that knowledge.' It is worth noting here the level of Plaine and Marks' expertise as archivists. Plaine has over 20 years' experience of working in the BBC archive, having started her career at the broadcaster's archive in Windmill Road in London, where she received training in cataloguing, archival research, and programme production[191]. Marks is an ex-film-maker with a postgraduate qualification in Information and Archives who trained as an archive librarian at STV before joining the BBC.

Margaret Compton expresses the value of archivists in her assertion that 'by having a conversation with the keepers of your field's original historic material, you will get access to more material and information than you might anticipate' (2007:133). Indeed, an analysis of the work that the Archive Department carries out highlights just how integral the team is to the structure, content, and accessibility of BBC Scotland's television archive. The department is responsible for 'managing and tracking media throughout the production lifecycle and ensuring that content is archived for current and future audiences.'[192] In our interview, Marks described the job of a Media Manager[193] as 'being at the coalface' as the team oversees the route to transmission for all BBC Scotland content, as well as logging and editing news rushes, managing storage systems, and archiving all broadcast content. In interview he detailed the additional responsibilities of the Archive Department thus:

> They're doing the cataloguing. They work off lists that come out of the senior management team [and] a lot of their time revolves between the television archive and the newsroom. So, when they're in the newsroom

[191] According to Plaine this training is no longer available.

[192] Taken from a BBC Scotland job description, 2017 https://careerssearch.bbc.co.uk/jobs/jobMedia-Manager-BBC-Scotland/20125

[193] This was the job title described by Marks in interview. The job title is now Archivist.

> they are helping find clips for journalists, they're cataloguing programmes that are going out, and they're making decisions on rushes and transferring things to be kept for the Digital Library. They're also helping look after a bit of the Avid news space in terms of creating folders and the deletion of redundant material.

This description of the team's workflow foregrounds the volume of labour required to oversee the flow of media from production to archive, and to facilitate access to the archive for current and future programme-makers. It also indicates the key role the archivist plays in interpreting and contextualising archive material. Indeed, in interview, McCann claimed that the remit of the team is to 'think about future contexts' and this is particularly the case with their handling of rushes, which is the raw, unedited footage filmed by news crews or production teams. The team's workflow involves watching rushes, deciding what can be deleted and what needs to be kept, then editing out or deleting what is not required. According to McCann, during the referendum campaign, the Archive Department were thinking about future use of the rushes; therefore hours of wobbly camera shots, setting up shots, and vox pops (interviews with members of the public) with no rights forms signed or inappropriate comments were deleted, in order to avoid what he described in interview as 'a massive gloop for future generations to go through'. The team's approach to archiving vox pops recorded during the referendum is particularly revealing of their commitment to assessing future contexts. In interview, McCann stated that the team tended not to keep vox pops material which had not been broadcast as 'people often don't come across very well', giving reactions to a contested debate in the heat of the moment. This reveals the responsibility the team undertook in terms of ethical and moral considerations

towards contributors and potential future contexts when making value judgements about whether or not to keep material.

According to McCann, when assessing rushes, the Archive Department have to think about both the short-term and long-term context of the footage, in terms of how it might be used in the present and be re-evaluated in the future. In interview, he summarised the process as thinking about how the material could be used to construct a narrative by current and future programme-makers:

> Basically, which parts of this material I'm looking at are the story now. There's the really short-term scale, which is 'this story's going to run for three months so what are they going to constantly refer to in the next three months', so we'll put that in the library, then there's the 5, 6, 10 year scale… And that can be difficult…

Marks expanded on this in interview, commenting:

> we're archivists but we're also a production library. Essentially the production library element of our jobs would be about identifying things that news might want to use again in the shorter term. So we'll keep things maybe for 5, 7 years, rushes material maybe. And then after that point we might think do we need to keep this any longer, is there an historical reason to keep this, what financial pressures are we under in terms of storage, is there something more important that could go in its place, is there any re-use value in it. So, that's when an archival role comes in. You're talking about deeper longer-term storage… because we can't keep everything forever.

He also indicated the amount of responsibility the team undertake, as both archivists and production librarians, in their assessment of rushes, claiming;

> We do have policies and guidelines as to how you would go about identifying and selecting material. They're not incredibly detailed. In a way it puts a lot of trust in the audio-visual librarian that's making the selections to have an understanding as to possible historical importance, re-use values, so that is something that's part of the job really, it's kind of intrinsic to making those kind of selections with rushes.

During our interview, Marks offered an example of having to judge the potential historical value of material to future programme-makers, which foregrounds the

value of archivists with years of expertise and extensive knowledge of the contents of an archive. He noted:

> A classic example was - I mean and this is from when I worked at STV - Alex Salmond had made a comment about an 'arc of prosperity' before the financial crash in 2008, regarding Norway, Iceland and Ireland I think it was. Like an arc of prosperity across Scotland. Now at the time nobody really thought much about that, but then when the financial crash happened, and Iceland especially was in trouble, Norway not as much so, but Ireland was also quite in a bad shape. That became a soundbite that journalists really looked for. Until that point, it was just another thing he'd said in a speech one day.

Marks had catalogued the Salmond speech and was able not only to facilitate access but was also aware of its worth to journalists attempting to contextualise the current situation. His expertise and judgement, therefore, brought to life the inert knowledge in 'just another' speech.

During the referendum, the pressure put on the Archive Department by the historical importance and potential re-use values of the rushes footage being selected was added to by the increased volume of material to be processed. Marks estimates that between October 2012 and September 2014, approximately 55 hours[194]-worth of additional material covering the referendum was broadcast by BBC Scotland. As he noted in interview, 'that's a lot of extra work in terms of rushes material, just raw material that's coming into the Avid system'. He went on to describe the situation as 'all hands on deck' claiming that 'keeping on top of it, cataloguing it all is very, very difficult because it's a lot of material.'

However, although additional news and production staff were hired to produce additional content (the Referendum Unit being a prime example), the Archive Department were only given one additional member of staff (in actuality an internal promotion rather than a new employee) and only for 6 months

[194] In the interview Marks gave the figure as approximately 3,300 minutes, which I have changed to hours.

towards the end of the referendum, and, Plaine claimed in interview, ‘we had to fight for that.’ On top of viewing and editing the rushes of all the additional footage shot, and ingesting all the new material broadcast during the campaign, the Archive Department were often put under pressure by the newly hired production staff and freelancers, many of whom were new to the BBC and its systems, requiring access to archive materials and help with archiving systems in order to make programmes. In interview both Plaine and Marks claimed that the additional workload during the referendum campaign had a negative impact on the Archive Department. Indeed, Plaine claimed in interview that the stress of the increased workload, particularly in the final year of the campaign, meant that after the referendum result, when the campaign had finished, a large number of the team went on sick leave.

As the workflow around rushes ingestion and deletion shows, the Archive Department plays a crucial role in assessing what becomes storage memory and what is presented as functional memory (and thus a part of the canon) within BBC Scotland’s television archive. Their work, therefore, was particularly important during such a momentous and contested event as the independence referendum. However, the broadcaster’s approach to staffing during the campaign not only had a negative impact on the health of the archivists, but also risked affecting the contents of the archive itself. As Marks pointed out in interview:

> as a support role which is quite a lynch pin of the whole flow of imagery from the archive, I would say that it would have been better, in my opinion, if there had been extra media managers.

While programme makers are responsible for filming the imagery to be stored in the archive, it is the responsibility of the archivists to oversee how that imagery is preserved and accessed, and what is entered into the canon for

recycling and recontextualization, thus influencing how future narratives will be written. Without an adequate amount of staff to oversee this, the flow could be disrupted, and the pact with the future might break down.

Future-proofing the archive

Echoes of Assmann's ideas around functional memory and canonization are heard in Plaine and Marks' description of their job roles. Plaine is responsible for the overall strategy of the department, overseeing budgeting and staffing, as well as seeking funding for preservation initiatives. Thinking ahead to future uses of the archive is an integral part of her role, and she claimed in interview that she is required to consider 'where the archive needs to be in a couple of years' time, in 5 years' time, in 10 years' time' and further that, 'we're always thinking ahead, what do we do with content that's now 50, 60, 70 years old, that's on very fragile, vulnerable formats?' Similarly, in interview Marks described his role as Digital Library Archive Manager as overseeing the strategic identification of archival digitisation projects through audit work, 'prioritising what is digitised into the BBC Scotland Digital Library' and building new collections to be ingested into the system. Here then, in Plaine and Marks' description of their work, is an indication of the crucial role their curatorial work and expertise plays in mapping out the future of the archive.

Assmann's concept of cultural memory being perpetuated through 'special and costly precautions' is also voiced by Plaine in her description of the challenges the team face in maintaining the heritage aspect of the archive. During our interview, she noted that digitization of the archive 'is a real imperative for us in Scotland' because 'there's a lot of quite inaccessible parts of the collection because of the formats that they're on'. This format vulnerability (such as decomposing 16mm films and Umatic tapes wearing thin)

is, according to Plaine, expensive to manage and 'it'll get more and more expensive as the years go on.' Deciding which elements of the collection are worth spending money on to digitise means 'we have to manage all of the content with some selection and some value judgements around it'. This statement highlights the crucial role the archivists play in curating the archive, and therefore future narratives to be derived from its contents. However, trying to judge what the future requirements of the archive's users might be is not without its problems. As Plaine pointed out during our interview:

> From a production point of view there may be editorial requirements within a year or two years that are known of but they might not necessarily be where the priorities are in managing the archive collection. But that may be because they haven't got access to them, they don't know where and what we have. You know, it's not particularly clear in the catalogue, and we're not making it particularly easy for people to access it. So, there's a balance between ensuring accessibility but also ensuring that material is kept for the future, for possible production needs.

When questioned on how the team decides which material gets priority for preservation, Plaine's response again references Assmann's notion of archival practices involving special and costly precautions.

> the easiest way to tackle it is collection by collection, format by format, and actually assessing that against the need of productions at any one time, and the availability of the technology to actually do anything with it… I think it's got to be a sort of calculation of what has the most value back to production for editorial reasons because that's the easiest way to get funding for it. But you also have to bear in mind the fragility of the content.

The balancing act Plaine and the team must carry out, assessing potential future worth against monetary and technological constraints, can be regarded as a physical representation of Assmann's theory of storage and functional memory, in that the team decide what can be brought from the vaults into the working part of the archive (functional memory), and what must be left in storage (storage memory). It also resonates with Assmann's categorisation of forgetting

as passive and active. Choosing not to digitise material, thus risking its irreversible deterioration, presents elements of both passive and active forgetting. It also evidences the importance of considering the potential impact of this intentional forgetting on future narratives about Scotland's past. As Derrida asserts:

> the question of the archive is not a question of the past… It is a question of the future… if we want to know what that will have meant, we will only know in times to come. (1995:36).

Therefore, judging the future needs of programme-makers accessing the archive relies on an element of guess work. As Marks put it in interview, 'things assume an importance obviously that you would need a crystal ball to see'. However, as he also pointed out, a custodianship approach, in which 'we keep everything, and we don't delete anything, and we catalogue it all so that it's findable - is just not practical or feasible'. As the funds and resources necessary to offer full custodianship are not available, there is a risk that elements of the archive will be lost to future audiences and programme-makers, the importance of which cannot be judged in the present. However, as discussed earlier in this chapter, the team's specialist knowledge and expertise helps to mitigate against this risk. There might be an element of guess work in deciding what to preserve, but Marks' anecdote about his involvement in the re-contextualisation of Alex Salmond's 'arc of prosperity', speech indicates the critical role archivists play in understanding the potential worth of the material in the archive.

McCann also highlights the role the team's expertise plays in helping programme-makers to understand that archives are never complete, that they are created as much through absence as content, and that some elements of the past might be missing or inaccessible. When interviewed, he commented, 'I think part of our job is explaining the various circumstances because things are

lost for all kinds of reasons'. Steve Bryant's history of British television archiving, *Television Heritage* (1989) states that most of the programmes from the early days of television and live broadcasting were not recorded. Despite technological innovations in the 1950s and 1960s which saw a transfer from film to video tape for recording programmes, prior to the establishment of a formal BBC archive in the 1970s, many of the broadcaster's programmes were not kept after transmission. In interview, Marks and McCann discussed the lack of archival strategy at BBC Scotland before the 1980s and how this impacted on the current archive. Many programmes were lost because tapes were wiped and re-used. Marks attributed this to the cost of tape stock in the '50s and '60s, claiming that a Umatic tape cost as much as a family car. McCann claimed that 'there were no librarians working with the sort of mind-set, the archival mind-set if you like, to hold stuff' and that saving material was down to staff intervention (stealing, or 'liberating from the shelf', material that was destined to be put in a skip or wiped). He claimed this benefitted the archive, citing *Top of the Pops* archive material as an example of material that was saved from destruction by intervention and has now become part of the BBC's canon.

Since she took over as head of the department in 2015, Plaine has played a prominent role in mitigating against absences in the archive, strategizing for preservation initiatives. During our interview she stated that 'I'm the one that has to advocate for that to senior people, to say, 'you might not know this, but our film collection is very vulnerable.' She also pointed out, 'If I'm not flagging up to people who can influence that and get me the money, they don't even know, they don't understand the archive.' The current 16mm digitization project being carried out by the Archive Department, is a prime example of her

advocacy. During a work trip to SVT[195] in Sweden, Plaine encountered the system created by the Danish company, Fast Forward, to facilitate digitisation of 16mm film stock on a Steenbeck. In interview she stated:

> What I loved about it was, the software goes onto existing technology and you didn't need to buy any huge, expensive bits of kit. It would allow existing staff to work on it and it was about accessibility. It was, 'we just need people to have access to our collections to prove their worth, to understand how they can really add context and texture to anything editorially that was going on. So, to me that felt like a really big win and it came in at quite a low price as well.

This relatively inexpensive technology is now in operation at BBC Scotland, after being successfully trialled in 2017. The Archive Department are putting Dagmar Brunow's theory that re-using and remediating archive material 'frees footage from forgetting by liberating it from the shelves' (2015:15) into practice with the Fast Forward digitisation technology. They are currently engaged in bringing back to life hundreds of hours of lost television, digitizing thousands of reels of BBC Scotland 16mm films which have sat in storage for decades, then exporting them to the Digital Library ready to be used by programme makers. The film reels include news reports, dramas, sporting events and entertainment programmes. In order to attract the interest of programme-makers at BBC Scotland, the Archive Department have set up a monitor playing a showreel of selected clips from the Fast Forward project on a muted loop. The monitor sits in the window of the telecine room on the third floor of PQ, looking out onto a communal walkway known as The Street. The set-up references W.H. McDowell's account of the early days of television in Scotland when 'many people watched the service from outside shop windows' (1992:84), as well as illustrating Helen Wheatley's concept of spectacular television, intended to 'hold the viewer's gaze' (2006:1) with 'images at which we might wish to stop and stare' (King, 2000:4).

[195] The Swedish national public television broadcaster.

During my interview with Plaine, I was invited to watch the Fast Forward project in action; a James McTaggart drama shot on 16mm and not seen since it was broadcast in the 1960s was being run through the Steenbeck and digitized ready for ingestion into the Digital Library. Thus, a film by a landmark filmmaker lost for over fifty years is now available for programme-makers and television schedulers to access again. Of course, how the film is used - perhaps re-shown in its entirety as part of a scheduled season of films, or used for clips within another programme, or never used at all - is subject to the taste and institutional commitments of BBC programme makers and schedulers, a reminder that public engagement with BBC Scotland's television archive is mediated. However, at least there is now the opportunity for the film to be seen again thanks to the intervention of the Archive Department. Similarly, *Scotland's Smoking Gun* can be regarded as an archival intervention in that most of the archive material in it was sourced from the problematic Fabric system, but as the programme is now stored in the Digital Library the footage is much easier to access and use in future programmes.

The Fabric system is currently being shut down (in interview, Marks used the term 'sunsetted') with the intention of it eventually being phased out and replace by the Digital Archive. However, this highlights issues with technical obsolescence within the BBC's archiving systems. Before Fabric is sunsetted, a project to migrate footage from tape to digital format for access on the Digital Archive will need to be undertaken in the next few years. To give an indication of the scale of this project, at the time of our interview Marks had taken delivery of a thousand beta tapes needing to be digitized, and this is only a tiny fraction of the whole archive. An added complication for the BBC Scotland team is that Sony, who manufacture the beta players currently needed to view and

transfer Beta tapes in the archive, have announced that they intend to stop making parts for the machines. Potentially, if the tapes in the archive have not been transferred onto digital files and stored in the Digital Library and the beta machines break, parts of the BBC's archive might be inaccessible, which in turn will affect the choices for the version of the past which ends up onscreen. The team are currently stockpiling spare parts, tape heads, and crucially, according to Plaine 'the knowledge and experience to fix them'. In interview, Plaine expanded on the unique challenges audiovisual archivists face in preserving access for future generations, commenting:

> audiovisual archiving is like no other archiving at all. The turnaround is, at the very most, 10-15 years. We've had Beta SP tapes down there since the early 80s. They're incredibly vulnerable, they've been re-used many times. Some of them have already been lost because people put them back in the wrong boxes. There's a real element of trust in the way we manage physical attributes. So, if you don't preserve it and you lose it, what's the cost?

The Digital Library is an effective tool for mitigating against the loss of material on fragile formats. For example, the ingestion into the library of programmes such as *Scotland's Smoking Gun,* full of clips from programmes found through a search of Fabric, preserves and catalogues those clips which might otherwise be lost when the original source tapes wore out. However, it must be remembered that digital storage platforms also risk technical obsolescence and instability, meaning the preservation of the archive, like cultural memory, is constantly evolving.

Valuing the archive

The vital role that the Digital Library plays in future-proofing the archive highlights the need to foreground the hidden labour behind the interface, namely the work of the archivists at BBC Scotland responsible for building, updating, and maintaining this valuable tool. Spigel notes that in the digital age

the apparent ease with which we can now all be archivists or access archive, via smartphones and YouTube, has the potential to lessen the perceived worth of that archive material. She states that as the archive goes viral 'things that are easy to get seem somehow just trivia for buffs' (2010:70). My own experience of working with different production teams at BBC Scotland indicated to me that there was the potential for presumptions about worth (or lack of worth) based on ease of access to be applied to BBC Scotland's television archive. Often programme-makers with no archival training or experience assumed that because the Digital Library allowed easy access to some of the contents of the archive, the whole archive must be easily accessible and useable. In interview, Plaine picked up on this, expressing shock at the lack of understanding on the part of some users. She noted:

> people don't understand about third party rights, they don't understand about paying for access, they don't even understand about the format that you would get it on or the turnaround time.

She went on to claim that there is an assumption in some areas of the BBC that the contents of the archive are easily exploitable sleeping assets. Referring to the new digital channel for Scotland, she claimed:

> There's quite a push to use a lot of archive, whether it be for straight repeats or for colour and context within other programmes for re-use, there's definitely been an assumption that it [the contents of the archive] is ours, that it'll be cheap.

Highlighting the crucial role that archivists play in challenging this fallacy, she stated:

> [I've] really had to address that because it's cheaper than making a new programme on the whole, but there's still technical costs to digitise, effort to research, never mind even to make it fit for transmission, which is quite a big process nowadays with file deliveries.

This statement serves as a reminder of the labour involved in providing access to a television archive that plays a crucial role in shaping public understanding of the past.

Plaine and Marks' final thoughts on BBC Scotland's television archive indicate both their sense of its worth and the need to promote the value of its contents and the work the team responsible for managing it. In our interview, Plaine stated:

> I am incredibly proud of what we have. It's by no means perfect, but it's very representative of the funding and investment that's been put in… it's often seen as a secondary thing to what goes on, perhaps appropriately because production really isn't all about archive, but I think it could be used a bit more and I think it has to be respected.

Meanwhile, Marks thoughts on the value of the team highlight the continued need for expert archivists in the digital age. He claimed:

> I think, good librarianship and good archival cataloguing is also key. Because I don't think technology has proven so far – I mean, we're way past the year 2000 now – and the digital era hasn't been so far the silver bullet that it's held up to be.

Conclusion

It is likely that the referendum material in BBC Scotland's television archive will be used for years to come, and it is essential that future programme makers understand what they are looking at. At the beginning of this chapter I cited Lynn Spigel's argument that 'the creation of the television archive is deeply entwined in issues of institutional and state power' (2010:55). The aim of the research presented throughout the chapter has been to highlight that an understanding of the importance of the role of the archivist in managing this site of power is crucial.

As productions are becoming increasingly populated by freelancers who do not necessarily know how to use BBC library and clearance systems, core staff who work both as librarians and archivists, preserving the material and aiding productions with access to clips, are crucial to the efficient use of BBC Scotland's television archive. The 55 hours of referendum material, as well as

the decades' worth of material in BBC Scotland's archive are an immensely valuable record of both Scotland and the BBC's past. Therefore, it is crucial to understand the work that the Archive Department staff do to maintain the archive and to consider how this shapes the narratives about the past presented onscreen, and in turn cultural memories of past events.

The BBC Plan published in 2018 included a proposal to employ 80 additional journalists to service the new digital channel for Scotland, but there was no reference to employment of any additional archivists to catalogue and preserve the additional content created by the new channel. Who, then, will be working to ensure that the content created by the broadcaster will be preserved and contextualised for future use? If the work of the archivists is not understood, and their value not promoted, there is a risk that the quality of their work will be put under pressure, therefore potentially affecting the quality of the preservation of material for future generations.

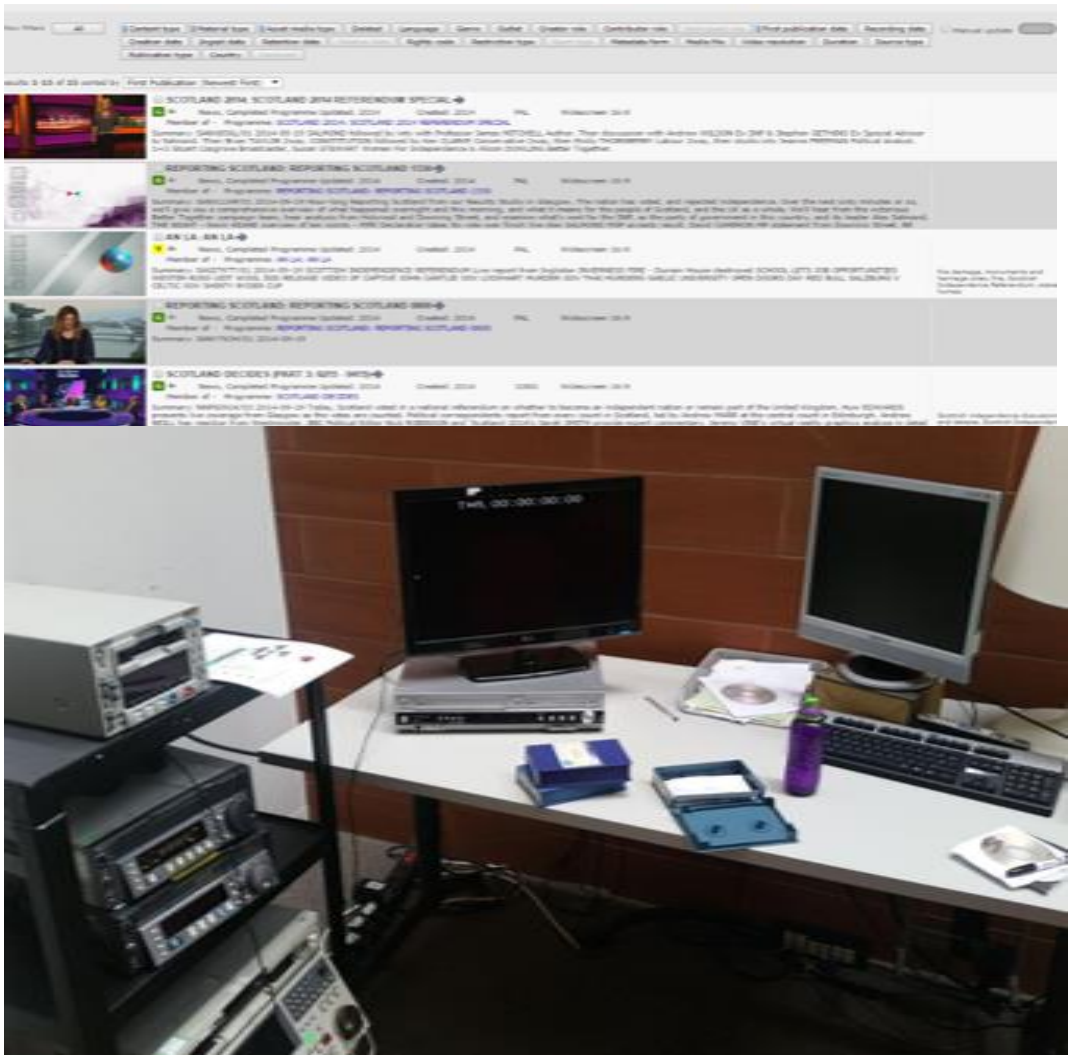
Programme-makers might decide the current narrative or context of the news bulletins documentaries and dramas they make, but it is down to the archivists to consider future contexts and uses of the material, to decide how best to preserve it and maintain access for future generations. It is the Archive Department staff who facilitate the constant flow between past, present and future which takes place in an archive. They attribute context and meaning to the material they catalogue; as curators they manage what is introduced into the cultural canon; as researchers they liberate material from the shelves; as custodians they facilitate the present's pact with the future. Without the archivists there is no archive, there is only a storehouse.

5-1 *Scotland's Smoking Gun* and *How the Campaign Was Won* are available to view in BBC Scotland's desk-based self-service Digital Library. Screenshots of Digital Library interface reproduced with permission of BBC Scotland

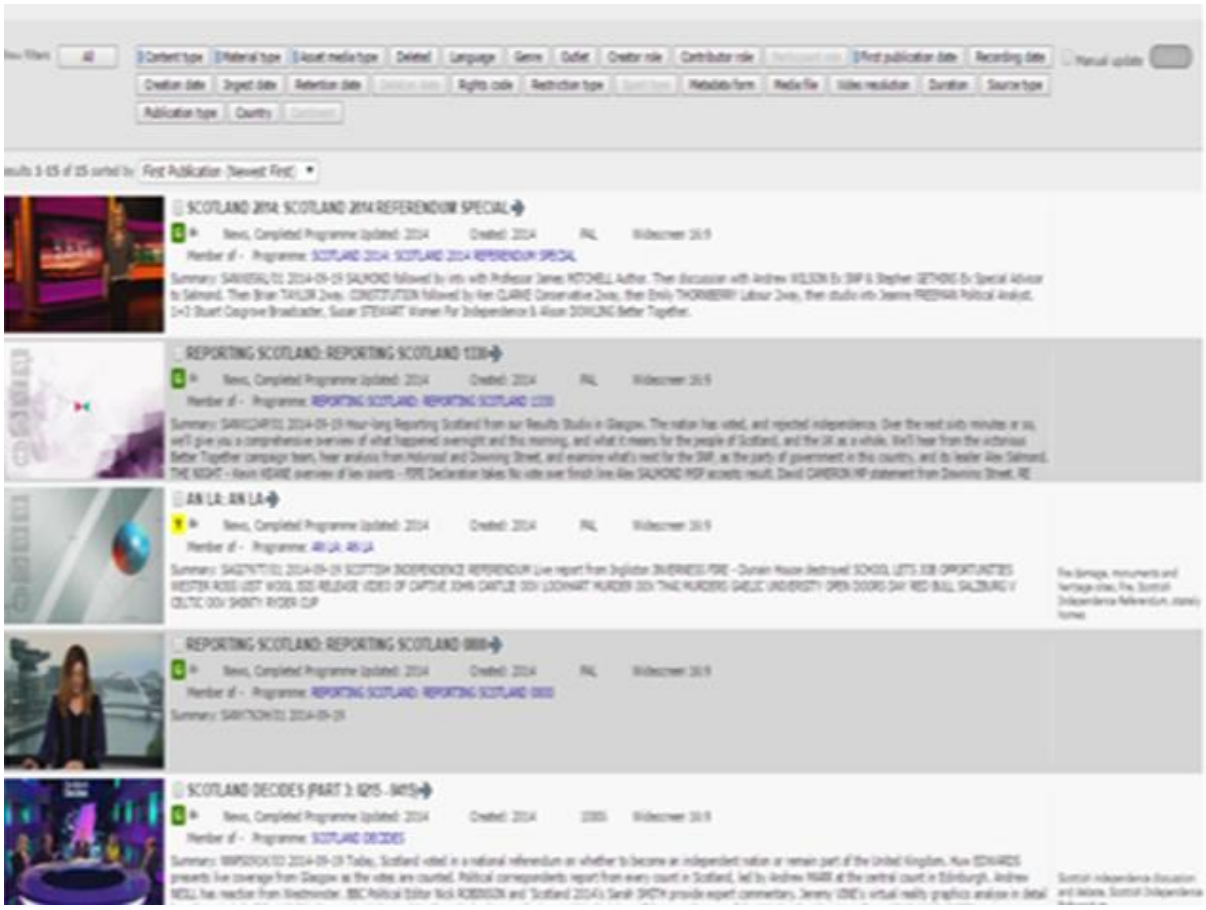
5-2 Digital Library interface compared with HD and Beta tape viewing station at BBC Scotland Pacific Quay.

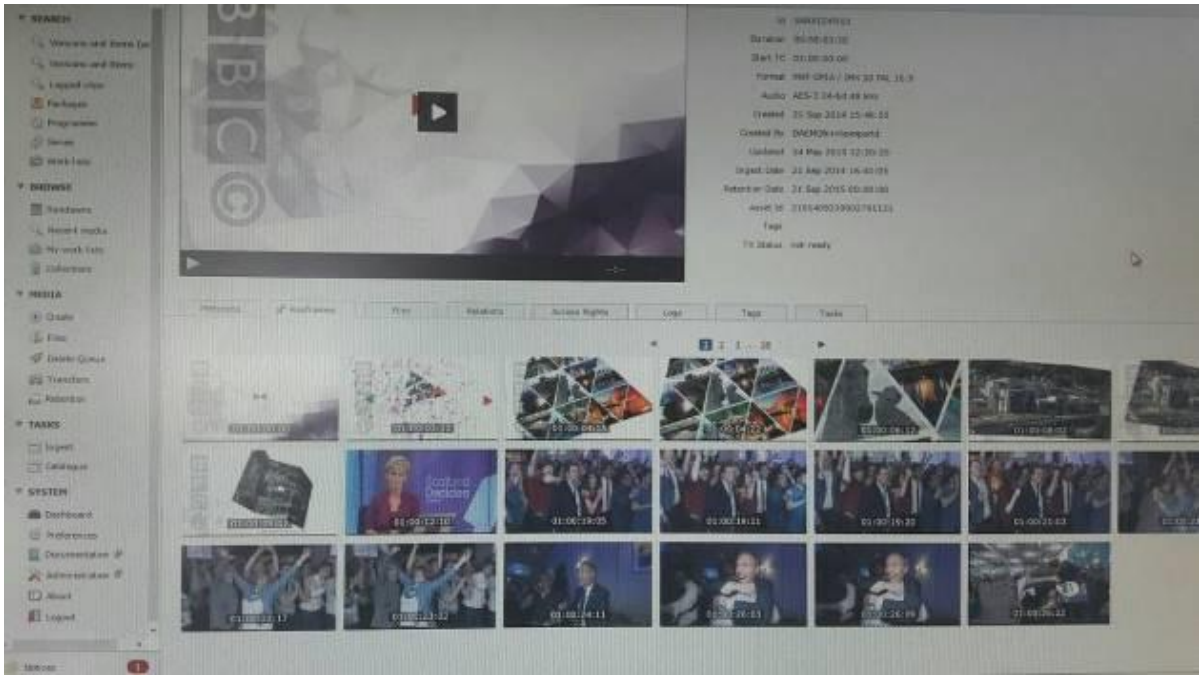
Screenshots of Digital Library interface reproduced with permission of BBC Scotland.

Viewing station, personal photograph, not for reproduction without permission

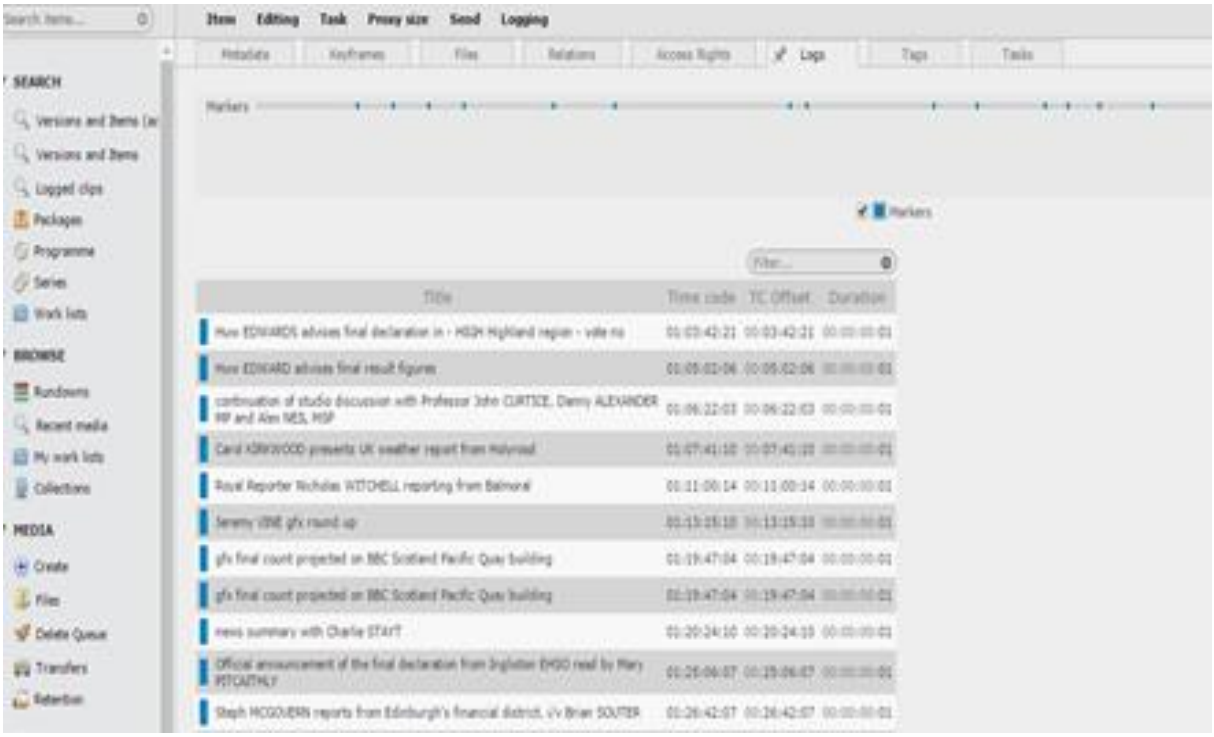


5-3 Detail of Digital Library interface: Thumbnails of each shot.
Screenshots of Digital Library interface reproduced with permission of BBC Scotland.

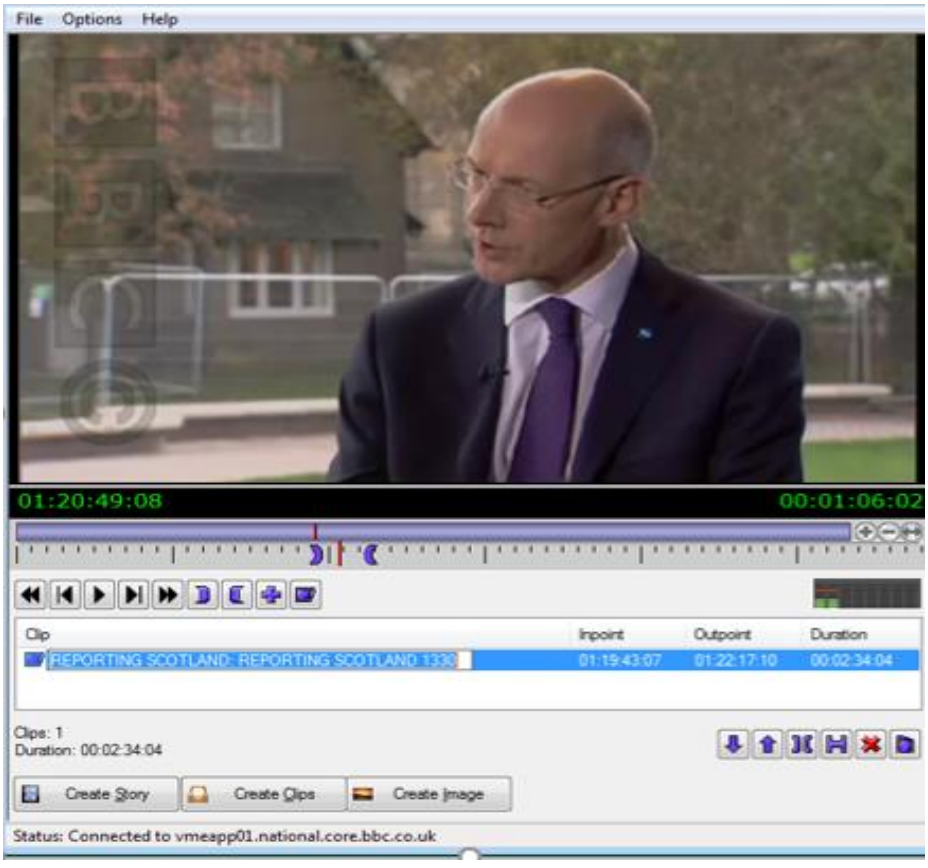


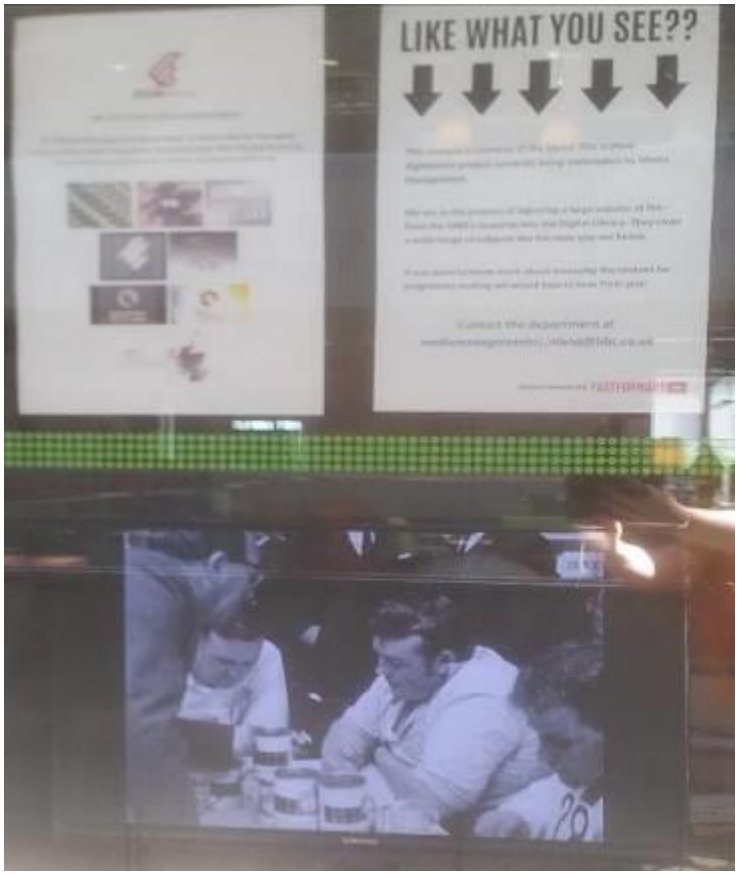


5-4 Detail of Digital Library interface: Logging
Screenshots of Digital Library interface reproduced with permission of BBC Scotland



5-5 Detail of Digital Library interface: choosing a clip to send to edit suite
Screenshots of Digital Library interface reproduced with permission of BBC Scotland





5-6

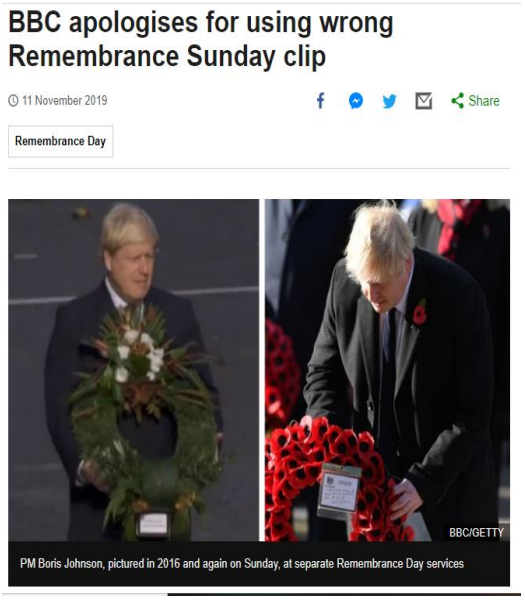
the Archive Department have set up a monitor playing a showreel of selected clips from the Fast Forward project on a muted loop. The monitor sits in the window of the telecine room on the third floor of PQ. Personal photograph, notfor reproduction without permission.

Conclusion

In this thesis I have argued that BBC Scotland's television archive, and the material it contains, is a site of power, carrying the potential to embed specific narratives about the past into public consciousness. In order to answer the central research question of the thesis, that is, 'how is BBC Scotland's television archive used to construct specific narratives about the past and what impact might this have on cultural memory of the 2014 Scottish independence referendum?' I have focused on archival aesthetics in *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, production processes on *How the Campaign Was Won*, and archival practices at BBC Scotland. I have shown how television archive material has been used as the scaffolding upon which specific narratives about the Scottish independence referendum have been constructed and perpetuated. I have also demonstrated how television archive material travels between programmes, and so too does the version of the past established by 'scripting to pictures', thus establishing and fixing a narrative about the referendum which in turn solidifies cultural memory of the event. As Gillian Branston puts it, 'over time, the most powerful versions of history are reconfirmed, they become sedimented down, pressed into new narratives and accounts (1998:51). As a result, the narratives about the past created by institutions such as BBC Scotland allow them to structure how the public engages with the past.

However, the decisions made by programme-makers working with material from BBC Scotland's television archive are influenced by the working practices of production teams, the curatorial and preservation practices of BBC Scotland's archive department, and the editorial guidelines of the BBC, along with material constraints such as availability and cost of archive material,

scheduling, and staffing. All of these factors impact on the narrative about the referendum presented on screen, which in turn shapes public understanding and cultural memory of the event. In the Introduction to this thesis, I described an archival mistake I made on *Scotland's Smoking Gun* as the result of working under a tight schedule, heavy workload, and limited access to certain parts of the archive. I argued that although this mistake was minor, it highlighted the potential for archival use (and misuse) to seriously affect the representation of the past on screen. In November 2019, this point was evidenced in the fallout from an archival mistake made in a BBC news item, which resulted in the BBC issuing a formal apology. On 10th November 2019, Prime Minister Boris Johnson attended a Remembrance Sunday service at the Cenotaph. Johnson was criticised for being inappropriately dressed for the occasion, failing to observe protocol[196], and laying his poppy wreath upside down[197]. However, the next day on the live early morning news programme, *BBC Breakfast (*BBC1, BBC News*)*, an item about the service featured a clip of Johnson laying a poppy wreath at a Remembrance Sunday service in 2016. There was no reference made to the clip being from the 2016 service.



Left: Johnson in 2016. Right: Johnson in 2019

[196] The criticisms aimed at Johnson and accusations of a BBC cover-up are listed in the *Newswatch* segment dedicated to the incident https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/m000bd32/newswatch-15112019

[197]'Boris Johnson lays his poppy wreath upside down during Remembrance Sunday service' https://www.indy100.com/article/boris-johnson-remembrance-sunday-wreath-upside-down-watch-video-9198116

This led to accusations of the BBC deliberately replacing the 2019 footage of Johnson with footage from 2016. Indeed, *The Independent* reported that 'the corporation was accused of "covering up" Mr Johnson's blunder when it broadcast the 2016 footage on *BBC Breakfast'* (Evans, 2019). In response, the BBC *Breakfast* programme issued an apology on Twitter, stating:

> This morning on the programme we incorrectly used footage from a Remembrance Day service that was not filmed yesterday. This was a production mistake and we apologise for the error.

The programme's series editor, Richard Frediani, explained further on Twitter that 'the footage of Remembrance Sunday 2016 was among archive restored at 0403am on Sunday to preview the service. It was used in error today' (Frediani 2019). Like my error on *Scotland's Smoking Gun*, a placeholder shot had not been replaced. The BBC News website featured a story about the error[198] and *Newswatch* (BBC1, BBC News), also included a segment about the incident[199]. The reaction to the archival mistake on *BBC Breakfast* indicates the power of television archive material to impact on public understanding of the past, both negatively and positively, and foregrounds the risk to the BBC's reputation when its archive material is mishandled.

The mistake made with archive footage of Johnson was easy to spot and was quickly brought to light. However, the mistake I made was more subtle and as far as I am aware, was not brought to public attention. The erroneous logo has not been replaced and is still present in the version of the programme held in BBC Scotland's digital library, ready to travel on into new programmes about Scotland's past. This situation foregrounds the concern voiced by Vicky Plaine in Chapter Five that a self-service digital archive being used by programme-makers

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[198] 'BBC apologises for using wrong Remembrance Sunday clip' https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/entertainment-arts-50374630

[199] https://www.bbc.co.uk/iplayer/episode/m000bd32/newswatch-15112019

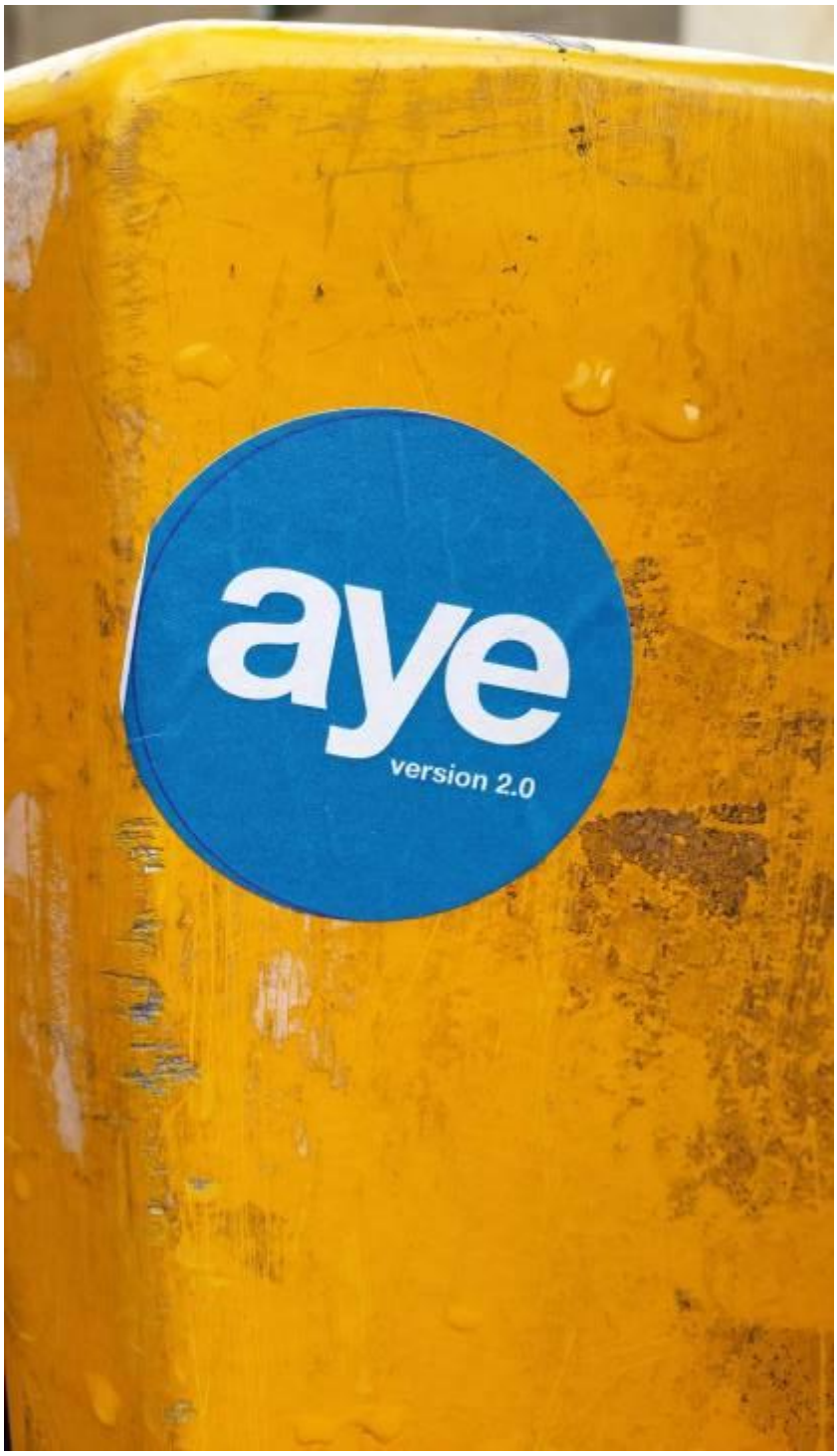
with no formal training in using the archive, working under the constraints of tight schedules and small budgets, creates a 'perfect storm' for mistakes to happen. This matters in relation to BBC Scotland's archive material relating to the 2014 independence referendum because it is likely to be reused for years to come, with the version of events broadcast by BBC Scotland potentially embedding into cultural memory.

The referendum was a seismic moment in Scotland's history and the repercussions are ongoing, with speculation about a second referendum intensifying in the wake of Brexit. As I have demonstrated in this thesis, BBC Scotland occupied a contentious position in the referendum campaign, with the objectivity of its coverage questioned by pro-independence groups. Any misuse or misrepresentation of BBC Scotland's television archive in relation to the 2014 referendum not only has the potential to travel into future programmes about the event, but also has the potential to widen the divide between the broadcaster and the public it serves. BBC Scotland's complicated role in the 2014 referendum and its position as the national broadcaster for a nation at a moment of ongoing constitutional debate, illustrates Helen Wheatley's argument that there is a 'connection between the 'proper' history of the world 'out there' and television history, the world 'in there' (2007:4).

As the contents of BBC Scotland's television archive pertaining to the 2014 independence referendum are likely to be used, and re-used, in future programmes about the event, embedding the broadcaster's narrative into public consciousness about this part of Scotland's past, scrutiny of the conditions under which BBC Scotland programmes about the referendum (the world 'in there') are created is essential, as they have the potential to powerfully impact on the world 'out there'. In this thesis I have shed light on the factors which create the

conditions in which television archive material travels between the archive and programmes, showing that the version of past presented on screen is a result of absence as well as availability, and human judgement (and error) as well as institutional ideology.

My hope is that the research contained within this thesis has the potential to be of value to television historians and cultural theorists seeking to understand the public broadcaster' relationship with, and portrayal of, the nation-state.



Aye Version 2.0 (personal photograph).

Is a second referendum on Scottish independence in Scotland's future?

Appendix 1

Key events relating to the Scottish independence referendum on 18th September 2014.

1st March 1979	Scottish Assembly referendum. The Scottish electorate are asked to vote Yes or No to a Scottish Assembly as proposed in the Scotland Act 1978, under UK's Labour Government. This would devolve powers from Westminster to Scotland. A last-minute amendment to the Act stipulates that the Act can be repealed if less than 40% of the electorate voted Yes. The result is in favour of the Scottish Assembly, with Yes gaining 51% of votes cast. However, as the turnout is only at 64%, this means that the votes cast for Yes only represent 32.9% of the electorate. The Act is therefore repealed.
1997	The Labour Party's manifesto for the 1997 General Election includes a commitment to calling a referendum on Scottish devolution, the legacy of former Labour leader, Scottish politician John Smith, who died in 1994. Following a landslide win, Prime Minister Tony Blair honours that commitment.
11th September 1997	Scottish devolution referendum. The Scottish electorate are asked to vote on two questions,1) whether there should be a Scottish Parliament 2) whether a Scottish Parliament should have tax varying powers. The electorate votes in favour of Yes Yes, with a majority of 74% for the first question and 64% for the second question.
12th May 1999	Scottish Parliament is reconvened. As the oldest member of the House, Winnie Ewing (SNP) presides over the opening, saying, "The Scottish Parliament, which adjourned on March 25, 1707, is hereby reconvened."
3rd May 2007	Scottish Parliament Election. SNP wins with 47 seats out of 129, defeating the incumbent government led by Scottish Labour. SNP forms a minority government. Alex Salmond becomes the First Minister of Scotland, with Nicola Sturgeon as Deputy First Minister.
5th May 2011	Scottish Parliament Election. SNP wins with a majority of 69 seats out of 129 and remains in government. Alex Salmond

remains the First Minister of Scotland, with Nicola Sturgeon as Deputy First Minister. The win secures a mandate for the SNP to call a referendum on Scottish independence.

October 2011 — A poll carried out for the BBC's *Politics Show* indicates that public support for Scottish independence is at 28%. 29% of respondents support no change, The most popular choice, at 33%, is Devo Max (devolution max) offering full fiscal autonomy for Scotland.

2011-2012 — Negotiations between Scottish Government and UK Government over terms of referendum. UK Prime Minister David Cameron insists that the choice on the ballot paper must be binary, with no third option of Devo Max.

25th May 2012 — Yes Scotland (Yes) campaign launch in Edinburgh. Alex Salmond and Blair Jenkins, the chief executive of Yes Scotland, host the event. Main political parties supporting Yes campaign are SNP and Scottish Greens. YouGov poll puts support for independence at 33%.

26th June 2012 — Better Together (No) campaign launch in Edinburgh. Better Together chair, Alistair Darling, gives a press conference. Main political parties supporting Better Together campaign are Conservatives, Scottish Conservatives, Labour, Scottish Labour, Liberal Democrats, Scottish Liberal Democrats.

15th October 2012 — Scottish First Minister Alex Salmond and UK Prime Minister David Cameron sign the Edinburgh Agreement agreeing the terms of the independence referendum.

16th January 2013 — The wording for the question on the ballot paper is agreed: Should Scotland be an independent country? Yes/No.

12th February 2013 — UK Privy Council approves the Section 30 Order giving Holyrood powers to hold a referendum.

21st March 2013 — Scottish Government announces that the date for the referendum has been agreed: 18th September 2014.

27th September 2013 — David Cameron rejects Alex Salmond's call to join him in a debate about the referendum. He argues the role should go

	to Alistair Darling as the leader of the Better Together campaign.
26 November 2013	The SNP launches its 670-page 'blueprint for independence' White Paper. BBC Scotland broadcasts the press conference live on its news website.
17th December 2013	Royal Assent is given to the Referendum Bill, making it an act of the Scottish Parliament.
13 February 2014	UK Chancellor George Osborne rules out a formal currency union in the event of independence, saying: 'If Scotland walks away from the UK, it walks away from the UK pound.'
4th May 2014	*The Sunday Herald* broadsheet newspaper announces its support for Yes. It is the only newspaper in Scotland to officially support independence.
30th May 2014	The official 16-week campaign period begins. The BBC reports that the Electoral Commission recommended the official campaign period be increased from 10 weeks (the campaign length during the AV referendum in 2011) to at least 16 weeks, to allow more time for the main campaigns to put their arguments to voters.'[200]
29th June 2014	Crowds gather outside BBC Pacific Quay to protest coverage of the referendum
23rd July-3rd Aug 2014	Commonwealth Games held in Glasgow. BBC covers the games extensively.
31st July 2014	Commissioned as part of the cultural festival celebrating the Commonwealth Games, *From Scotland with Love* has a special screening on Glasgow Green with a live musical accompaniment.
5th August 2014	First Leaders' Debate between Alex Salmond and Alistair Darling broadcast live by STV. Critics announce that Darling wins this debate.
11th August 2014	Crowds gather outside BBC Pacific Quay to protest coverage of the referendum
25th August 2014	Second Leaders' Debate between Alex Salmond and Alistair Darling broadcast live by BB Scotland. Critics announce that Salmond wins this debate.

[200] https://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-scotland-politics-27609162

21st August 2014 Purdah period begins, preventing Scottish and UK governments from making any new legislation which might affect the outcome of the vote.

6 September 2014 YouGov poll shows support for independence at 51%, beating support for No for the first time in the campaign.

14th September 2014 Crowds gather outside BBC Pacific Quay to protest coverage of the referendum, specifically Nick Robinson's report.

16th September 2014 'The Vow' appears on the front page of the Scottish tabloid newspaper *The Daily Record*. It claims that the leaders of the three main political parties in the UK - Prime Minister David Cameron, Labour leader Ed Milliband and Liberal Democrat leader Nick Clegg- have pledged to work together to transfer more powers to Holyrood in the event of a No vote.

17th September 2014 Latest poll puts No at 52% and Yes at 48%.

18th September 2014. Voting day. Polls close at 10pm and results are counted.

19th September 2014 Results of vote announced. Scotland has voted against independence. 55% No - 45% Yes.

Alex Salmond resigns

David Cameron announces plans for EVEL (English Votes for English Laws) stating, 'We have heard the voice of Scotland and now the millions of voices of England must be heard.'

UK Government announces Smith Commission, overseen by Lord Smith of Kelvin, to take forward the commitment to devolution of further powers to Scotland.

14th November 2014 Nicola Sturgeon becomes First Minister of Scotland.

January 2015 Smith Commission Command Paper issued with draft proposals for devolved powers.

7th May 2015	UK General Election. Conservative Party wins election on a manifesto committing to an EU referendum. David Cameron remains Prime Minister SNP wins 56 seats in General Election, the most seats it has ever held in Westminster. SNP now the third largest party in Westminster after the Conservative and Labour parties.
5th May 2016	Scottish Parliament Election. SNP wins 63 seats out of 129 and remains in government. Nicola Sturgeon remains as First Minister.
23rd June 2016	EU Referendum. UK votes to leave EU 52%-48%. Every voting district in Scotland votes to remain. David Cameron (who campaigned for Remain) resigns Teresa May becomes Prime Minister
16th March 2017	Nicola Sturgeon announces she will seek permission to call a second referendum on independence before the UK leaves the EU. Teresa May responds, 'now is not the time.'
28th March 2017	Scottish Parliament votes 69 to59 in favour of a seeking permission for a second referendum on Scottish independence before the UK leaves the EU.
29th March 2017	UK Government invokes Article 50, starting Brexit, the UK's withdrawal from Europe.
31st March 2017	Nicola Sturgeon writes to Teresa May requesting the Section 30 Order to Holyrood powers to hold a referendum. Teresa May denies request.
10th December 2018	European Court of Justice rules that Article 50 can be revoked, stopping the UK's withdrawal from the EU. The case has been brought to court by a cross-party group of Scottish politicians led by SNP MSP Joanna Cherry, and SNP MEP, Alyn Smith.
31st March 2019	First date set for UK withdrawal from EU.
29th May 2019	Legislation to enable a second referendum on independence, is published by the Scottish government.

12th December 2019	General Election. Conservative Party wins election on a manifesto committing to leaving the EU. Boris Johnson becomes Prime Minister. SNP wins the most seats in Scotland, on a manifesto calling a second independence referendum if the UK leaves the EU.
19th December 2019	Nicola Sturgeon writes to Boris Johnson formally requesting a Section 30 Order, giving legal powers to hold a second referendum on Scottish independence. Johnson refuses the request.
19th December 2019	Holyrood passes the Referendum (Scotland) Bill, setting out framework for a second Scottish independence referendum.
31st January 2020:	United Kingdom leaves the EU.

Appendix 2

***Scotland's Smoking Gun* shot list.**

Pre-credit archive montage sequence (various clips used throughout programme)

B/w archive clip Bill Hayley and comets

B/w archive clip Teddy boys playing pinball

Archive clip Soviet tanks

B/w archive clip Immunisation against polio

B/w archive clip Suez crisis

B/w archive newsreel of Stone of Destiny sequence: Helen Liddell interview 'Brigadoon'

Alex Neil interview: 'great re-awakening psychologically… but it didn't have any impact *politically* until much later'

V.O. 'it put the idea of Scotland's relationship with the rest of the UK on the agenda.

Colour archive clip housewife and children looking at new kitchen appliances

Colour archive clip woman cooking, husband in garden, Scottish new town

Archive clip Queen meets highland army

Margo MacDonald interview 'still pride in being British'

Richard Holloway interview 'Britain had found its moral tone'

Archive clip home movie footage of kilted soldiers marching through Glasgow

Archive clip newsreel of fighter planes.

Margo MacDonald interview 'things Britain had done that you could be proud of'

B/w montage of 1955 General Election: graphic showing 'conservatives in'. Presenter, RP, white, middle-aged. 'over to Glasgow'. Middle aged white men in kilts and suits. Studio announcer 'there will be a conservative government'.

Colour archive clip home movie footage of protestant march in Scottish village

Colour archive clip boy and girl with union jack and Scotland flags

Helen Liddell interview on history of Scottish Conservatives as Unionist Party, 'strength of Union Jack and everything rallying around the flag'.

Colour archive clip children with union jack flags

Gerry Hassan interview on strength of Conservatives in Scotland in 50s

Archive clip congregation singing. V.O. 'The church told us how to live our lives and most of us didn't question it.

Archive clip rural church.

Richard Holloway interview on not challenging authority.

B/w archive clips of doctors, policemen and teachers in action.

Elvis montage: airport, Elvis performing in gold suit, crowds of fans, Elvis in army uniform waving, still of Elvis and fans, Elvis board above cinema

Teddy Taylor interview 'Rock and Roll. I didn't like it. I didn't think it was associated with the right ideas.'

Archive teddy boys in a coffee bar. V.O. 'deference to the old order was being questioned'

Archive clip teenage teddy boys

V.O.'the old order was rattled'

Recap 50s / into 60s montage: Soundtrack '54321', rocket launching, models (inc Twiggy) dancing, man on moon ,couples jiving, Beatles and fans at airport, *Lady Chatterley's Lover* book cover, Pill on production line, rocket launch, Neil Armstrong on moon 'one small step…, bikers, mods on scooters, jivers

Richard Holloway 'there was a sense of something… a pulse building… a challenge to the way things were'

Archive clip nuclear test site

Archive clip hippies outside stately home

Archive clip lulu singing

Archive clip missile launch

Colour archive clip from car along shops in America 'blood brothers' graffiti on window

Colour archive clip of US soldiers

Archive clip of Martin Luther King

Colour archive clip of riots in Paris 'very very turbulent'

Colour archive clips of violent clashes with police, smoke bombs and horses at demo in Grosvenor Square (which became a riot). Demonstrator with blood streaming from his face. Male reporter 'some demonstrators came away with blood streaming from their faces'.

V.O 'but could the real change in Scotland be down to one thing: TV'

Black and white montage: television camera, studio announcer commenting on first Scottish studio, early BBC tv logo, family in a living room crowded round the set, RP male English presenter 'here is the Scottish news'

Archive clip of machine gun firing from helicopter (Vietnam)

Archive clip of American soldiers on the ground in Vietnam. Martin Bell reporting

Helen Liddell interview 'we were beginning to get the full impact of television, and American television – and American music – so you knew there was a world out there. On screen text behind her head **'world out there'**

Richard Holloway 'A sense of looking out at the world… emergence of youth culture… it was the older generation that screwed things up'

Colour archive clip of male and female hippy walking down street (San Francisco_

Colour archive clip of hippies at an American festival, guy in bunny suit, cu hippy man shaking/dancing

Colour archive clip of rock festival: woman with Love on her forehead. Iv with two American female hippies at festival about what 'love in' means

b/w archive clip London 'happening'. Iv with Japanese man dancing with hoops

Colour archive clip CND march inc babies and monks

Colour archive polaris in Holy Loch. Vo 'personal was political too'

Grainy b/w clip of polaris in loch

Archive clip American navy on top of Polaris in loch intercut with march

Polaris montage: canoeists walk past graffiti 'no Polaris. Spells Doom', police throwing sit-down protestor around like a sack of potatoes. Song on soundtrack is 'we shall not be moved'. Shots of man trying to climb up the side of sub with water jet pushing him down. Successful young man astride the top of sub.

b/w archive clip of camp and canoeists. Dorothy-Grace Elder 'there were quite a lot of marriages, mind you'

Colour archive clip of cnd march in London. V.O. 'the young in the 60s… learned that authority was to be questioned and change was possible'

b/w archive clips of *White Heather Club* 'BBC Television in Scotland invites you to The White Heather Club' credits. Shots of traditional Scottish reel dancing men in kilts women in frocks. Shots of Andy Stewart singing, the Corries, Scottish country dancing, Scottish traditional singing, Woman singing tractor song.

V.O. 'Now remember, television, if it's played any part leading up to this year's referendum, it works on a few levels. Scotland's young people might have been looking to change the future, but our television output was very much stuck in **its** past. Just as television had brought us the outside world, now it was very much time to look at ourselves'.

B/w archive clip opening of Forth bridge by Queen.

B/w archive clip England on pitch at World Cup. 'They think it's all over… it is now'

Text on screen with Gerry Hassan – **'Us'**

B/w archive clip Kennedy with Scottish regiment

Colour archive clip Kennedy

B/w archive clip Wilson

B/W Winnie Ewing winning seat in Hamilton in 1967. V.O: 'Scotland had the X Factor'. Soundtrack 'I'm a believer'

Helen Liddell on Ewing's campaign 'Labour, frankly, wasn't equipped to cope with it. It was machine man politics and a failure to look ahead.'

Newspaper headlines about Ewing's win

b/w archive clip of Ewing winning and her speech, ‘Hamilton has made history for Scotland’

B/w archive clip Heath and Declaration of Perth (pledging at Conservative Party Conf to support some form of Scottish devolution)

B/W montage of shots of Glasgow: old ladies, old man on park bench, old man peering into window.

Colour archive clip. Home movie footage of young man and woman outside the Haparanda café in Dundee. Man jumps for joy. V.O: ‘a shot in the arm’

B/w archive clip. Stanley Baxter sketch ‘when did you first discover this great gift for languages’ ‘Oh I have knew it for many a year’.

b/w archive clip *Dr Finlay’s Casebook* sequence. ‘We live too much in the past. That’s the trouble with Scotland. We’re too much Nationalistic.’

Alex Neil interview ‘People started to be much more confident in their pride in all things Scottish’

60s montage: football success, shipbuilding, Sean Connery, *Dr Finlay’s Casebook* The Corries singers

Montage of Lulu and Sean Connery. Gerry Hassan interview ‘you have the beginning of a whole interesting mosaic of Scottish voices’ text onscreen: **profound**

Montage recap 60s/into 70s V.O: ‘The British economy was in trouble’, David Bowie on TOTP ‘oh you pretty things’, supermarket lit by candles (blackout), catwalk models in 70s fashion, pennies being counted (decimalisation), men on street in Govan, oil rig toppling into place in North Sea

Margo MacDonald interview ‘I read in The Scotsman a piece that said that oil had been discovered. And I thought, Bingo!’ Text onscreen: **Bingo**

Montage shots of scientists in lab with oil, riggers, petrol pump, flare gun to rig from opening sequence, cars, gas tankers, rigs,

Colour archive clip presenter from Tomorrow’s World ‘This is the stuff we’re talking about’.

Archive clip news bulletin ‘Liquid gold. Britain now has oil.’

Kevin McKenna interview about oil being switched on and seeing it coming in through the pipeline

Colour archive clip of oil going through pipeline, Queen opening the first pipeline ‘if we use it right, this flood of energy can without doubt improve our economic wellbeing’,shot of children waving Union Jacks and Queen greeting them

Mckenna V.O. ‘this could be Scotland’s currency

Hassan V.O. ‘things were never the same again’

Colour archive clips rigs and riggers

Margo MacDonald V.O. ‘oil means money’

Colour archive clip preacher in Shetland warning of the temptations of the devil now that oil has arrived.

Colour archive clip tv studio gallery, monitors show the SNP ‘It’s your oil’ campaign ‘what are we Scots going to get from it without self-government.

Colour archive clip of SNP leader, William Wolfe, leading a march with saltire. Alex Neil interview ‘it was a new generation leading the SNP’

Colour archive clip Margo MacDonald speaking at conference ‘the whole world opens up to us with self-government’.

Colour archive ‘It’s Our Oil’ poster campaign. Soundtrack, ‘Changes’

Margo MacDonald interview on the slogan: ‘It’s Scotland’s oil. Simple as anything’

Colour archive clip of Margo campaigning. Helen Liddell interview ‘ we were worried about it’.

Kevin Mckenna on oil revenue ‘it would have spooked the parties of the union’

Colour archive clip campaigners outside Royal High School in 1981

Margo MacDonald interview ‘swept away the argument that we couldn’t afford it’

Colour archive clip of Donald Dewar’s campaign: ‘is it right really to try to face independence on the passing prosperity of oil’

Montage 70s winter of discontent: trains on strike, strikers round brazier, police and ‘scabs’ clash with strikers, demos, striking bin men arguing with army, army picking up bin bags and chasing rats.

Teddy Taylor interview text onscreen: **going wrong**

Colour archive clips of UCS work-in, Govan shipyard, Jimmy Reid ‘the world is watching us’.

Richard Holloway V.O ‘Scotland was gaining a voice’.

Colour archive clip Margo MacDonald campaign and election win sequence. ‘The Blonde bombshell’ Soundtrack, ‘whole lotta love’

Margo MacDonald interview on London journalist asking why she was so angry ‘you’re very selfish. I said, you come with me. We’ll go five minutes from where we’re standing and you tell me if I’m still selfish. And he got the fright of his life. Because he hadn’t realised just how drastic it was’.

Colour archive clips of slum Govan, men on street, kids playing, broken down tenements camera zooms into broken windows of tenement, focus on poster Vote SNP

Colour archive clips of politicians campaigning for Govan, Nationalist march with flags and kilted march leader, Margo MacDonald speaking at march

Teddy Taylor V.O about Govan being regarded as Labour ‘household’. ‘The parties became unpopular, seemed to get out of touch with people, and the Nationalists as a new party, a vigorous party, they had something which people wanted.’ Labour were ‘too confident, too sure of themselves’.

Colour archive clip of Margo MacDonald winning the Govan seat 1973. Margo interview V.O: ‘they didn’t bother having a count, they just weighed the counts. Save public money!’

Colour archive clip of 7 newly elected SNP MPS 1974

Alex Neil V.O: ‘it wasn’t primarily a vote for independence, it was a vote for change’

Colour archive clip Scottish Lion flag cut to Yes poster (Yes campaign for devolution 1979)

Colour archive clip of Bruce monument and Nationalist march intercut with SNP sticker ‘it’s time for self-government’

Alex Neil V.O on election of SNP MPs in ’74: ‘the shock of the SNP breakthrough made people really worry, and change minds and sit up and think about the need to support an assembly. And there was panic.’

Archive photo of 11 SNP MPs in late 70s

Colour archive clip of *The Cheviot, The Stag & The Black Black Oil*. Oil square dance song. Margo MacDonald V.O: ‘I don’t think there’s ever been a more important piece of theatre in Scotland’.

Grace V.O: ‘that particular play did articulate the real feelings of Scottish people more than politicians standing up, addressing people from a rostrum.

Colour archive clip of *The Cheviot, The Stag & The Black Black Oil* documentary section. Margo MacDonald V.O: ‘brought the socialism and nationalism together’

Richard Holloway interview ‘the soul of Scotland’

Colour archive clip of Westminster

Colour archive clip of Harold Wilson

Colour archive clip of Helen Liddell speech about devo

Colour archive montage of football crowds and Scotland v Argentina 1978 ‘Ally’s Army’ ‘Scotland was taking on the world’ ‘confidence was soaring’

Gerry Hassan interview ‘it’s just nice to dream a wee bit sometimes’

B/w archive clip of Corries walking down the road intercut with colour archive of Scotland team being sent home. Soundtrack, ‘Oh flower of Scotland’

1979 devolution referendum montage: campaigning, polling places, results night with final votes in, newspaper headlines

V.O. ‘Scotland **had** voted Yes, hadn’t it? But there was a sting in the tail… the goalposts had moved.. at least 40% of the electorate had to vote yes before the referendum bill could be passed. ‘

Colour archive clip of Saltire flag coming down. Cut to Union Jack flag

Colour archive clips of Glasgow. Margo MacDonald and Dorothy Grace-Elder interviews calling decision outrageous. Margo: ‘that was sprung on us and we should have said to the Scots, don’t take part in this sham’ Dorothy: ‘it was the first time in UK politics that a simple majority hadn’t counted.’

Newspaper headlines

Colour archive clips of Thatcher and Yes posters

Montage: vote of no confidence in Labour Government 1979, Margo MacDonald's speech from 1979 in V.O 'we must vote against them.'

Colour archive clip of Kate Adie report on vote of no confidence (with BBC Parliament watermark)

V.O No Confidence vote leads to General Election and Tories storming to power

Colour archive clip of Margaret Thatcher. V.O. 'The Nationalist gamble ended in a political stuffing'

Colour archive clip of corridors in Westminster Jim Callaghan's V.O: 'I am told that the current joke going around the House is that it is the first time in recorded history that turkeys have been known to vote for an early Christmas'.

Helen Liddell interview the SNP 'should never have voted with the Tories'

V.O. 'The SNP have never ever had the influence again at Westminster, that they had prior to 1979'

Colour archive clip of GE results coming in, Nationalist wipe-out.

Colour archive clip of kilted pipers marching in front of Thatcher on state visit.

80s montage: New wave, yuppies with money, Reagan and Thatcher 'the lady's not for turning', Cold war montage, Berlin wall, Charles and Di, Falklands, shuttle explosion, Piper Alpha, more yuppies, money and luxury, Thatcher V.O 'some people think we are not a Scottish party', credit cards, cash, champagne

Kevin Mckenna interview 'realised (Scotland) was going in a different direction. Text onscreen: **different direction**

Richard Holloway interview 'this deal we were in, that's changed radically'

V.O. 'Britain began to feel like a divided nation'

Industrial decline montage: scaffolding/crane collapsing, strikers round brazier, job centre, dole queue Britain, fast cars, flag waving Tories, various shots of Thatcher.

Margo MacDonald interview 'Margaret Thatcher did bring change, it was a social revolution she brought about'

Colour archive clip of Thatcher with young Teddy Taylor campaigning in Cathcart

Colour archive clip of young Alex Salmond speech about less than a quarter of the Scottish electorate voting for Tory Gov. 'It's a Government of Occupation we face in Scotland, just as surely as if they had an army at their backs'

Colour archive clip of mounted police chasing miners

Miners' strike in Scotland montage: violent skirmishes. Soundtrack 'Thorn in My Side'

Colour archive clip of Mick McGahey 'oh the police are always violent. I've never been on a picket line without police violent.

Colour archive clip of Kirsty Wark's interview with Thatcher.

Montage of clashes between police and strikers at Ravenscraig and marches/demos' Thatcher V.O. '**we** in Scotland'

Helen Liddell interview ‘awful’

Colour archive clip of crowds chanting Maggie Maggie Maggie

Colour archive clip of Thatcher’s Sermon on the Mound

Helen Liddell interview ‘I remember her standing on the steps… it was like a visitation from another planet.’

Margo MacDonald interview ‘I remember the blue hat… she was like the Queen… what Jesus said’

Gerry Hassan interview ‘she doesn’t understand modern Scotland’. Text onscreen: ‘**materialist, gross’**

V.O. ‘what we came to term the democratic deficit’

Colour archive clip of Scottish Constitutional Convention. Canon Kenyon Wright’s speech ‘we say Yes and we are the people’

80s music montage: Orange Juice video for Rip it Up, Simple Minds New Gold Dream on TOTP, Deacon Blue on TOTP, Proclaimer 500 Miles on TOTP. V.O. ‘new mood music’

Montage of unrest: pickets, strikes, demos. Soundtrack ‘500 Miles’

Kevin McKenna interview on Proclaimers ‘these songs were about loss and disengagement and betrayal… they spoke to the industrial heartland. They reflected a.. fury… at the removal of our industries’

Montage of closures and clashes, gates closing on Bathgate

V.O. ‘Scotland singing from the same hymn sheet and now, thanks to Maggie, things were about to explode’

Poll tax montage: Tommy Sheridan ripping up bailiff’s warrant, anti-poll tax demos and marches in Glasgow

Teddy Taylor interview ‘it became regarded as a nasty Thatcher conspiracy to do damage to Scotland’

Colour archive clip of poll tax office, old lady flabbergasted at how much more she’ll have to pay.

Helen Liddell interview ‘I don’t think it bothered Thatcher that she never got Scotland… Poll tax hurt Scotland to its soul’.

Margo MacDonald interview ‘it was not good, but if we’re looking at it as a campaign, it was absolutely wonderful that it came along, because it destroyed Mrs Thatcher’.

V.O. ‘Westminster cared nothing for Scotland… something had to change’

90s montage: Tony Blair waving to crowds as he enters Downing Street, Spice Girls on TOTP, Clinton ‘I did not have sexual relations with that woman’, Blair and Oasis in Downing Street, Death of Diana. Soundtrack ‘Wonderwall’

Colour archive clip news of Thatcher’s resignation. V.O. ‘But the biggest news story at the start of the decade was the departure of Margaret Thatcher

Colour archive clips of Neil Kinnock making speeches then stumbling on the beach

Colour archive clip of celebrations at 10 Downing Street for John Major

Colour archive clip of crowds with saltires in George Square. V.O. 'The North South divide had never been more apparent.'

Henry McLeish interview 'people expected Labour to win and when it didn't happen they just went to George Square'.

Colour archive clips of Free Scotland demo and Scotland United demos. V.O. 'a grassroots movement demanding home rule'

Colour archive clip of Alex Salmond as SNP leader news footage 'We're going to win the hearts and minds of the Scottish people'

Montage of sports failures and successes

Colour archive clip of *Rab C Nesbitt* – tattoo of 'I love Scotland' on a bum

Colour archive clip of John Smith 'the establishment of Scotland's parliament is unfinished business'

Colour archive clip of John Smith's funeral 'no one who followed him could ignore this momentous decision.

Montage of Labour winning General Election, shots of Blair grinning, GE results, Blair elected, Blair and Richard Branson. Soundtrack, 'I am the resurrection'.

Montage covering election of 56 Scottish Labour MPS and call for referendum in 97

97 Referendum on Devolution montage: campaigning, Dewar and Blair announce results. Blair, 'a good day for Scotland'. Dewar, 'I like that'

1999 elections for new parliament montage ending with Labour/Lib Dem Alliance

Colour archive clip of Dewar meeting the Queen. V.O 'Dewar became known as the father of the nation'.

Archive clip of Alex Salmond resigning as leader of SNP.

Colour archive clip of opening of Scottish Parliament

Richard Holloway interview. Text onscreen '**coming home**'

2000s montage: Salmond and Sturgeon together, Millenium night, Google and Facebook, the Queen's Facebook page, Famine, obesity, banks.

Colour archive clip of 9/11 footage

Colour archive clip of Stop the War coalition march

Colour archive clip of Rageh Omaar Report from Iraq

Colour archive clip of SNP anti-war demo. V.O. Alex Salmond accusing Bush and Blair of bloodbath

Henry MacLeish interview 'Salmond is a shrewd politician'

Montage of Bush and Blair, American soldiers in Iraq

Montage of daily business in Scottish Parliament, aerial of Holyrood

Colour archive clip of Donald Dewar's funeral

Alan Cochrane interview on Dewar staying in Scotland while other Scottish Labour politicians went to Westminster 'all the big guns…. Wanted nothing to do with (Scottish) Parliament;

Colour archive clip of Gordon Brown debating in House of Commons

Montage: Holyrood building debacle

Colour archive clip of Anti-Jack McConell posters

Colour archive clip of Salmond and Sturgeon together in Holyrood

Gerry Hassan interview about the change to positive spin within SNP, 'what Scotland could be'

Colour archive clip of Salmond and Sturgeon

Colour archive clip of SNP win b 1 vote in 2007 '

Alan Cochrane interview on changing name from The Scottish Executive to Scottish Government

Henry McLeish interview on Salmond 'by 2011 he had a populist, credible, competent government.' Text on screen **'business as usual'**

Montage of 2011 landslide win for SNP

Colour archive clip of Edinburgh Agreement Salmond and Cameron

Montage of Holyrood leaders at FMQ

Richard Holloway interview 'not a fist has been thrown… not a tin can' it has shown Scotland to be a mature political entity now'

Colour archive clip of 18th September metalwork

V.O. 'On the 18th September this year, it's over to you folks.'

Recap montage. V.O. 'of course how we got here isn't about one smoking gun at all. No Scotland's political story of the past 60 odd years is an accelerating rollercoaster of unforeseen events and unpredictable consequences, of key personalities, mistakes, triumphs and of changing nature of how the world works.'

END CREDITS

Appendix 3

***How the Campaign Was Won* shot list.**

Pre-title sequence: VO 'Finally we have a result. Archive montage:

Polling stations, counting the vote, Salmond announcing 'Scotland has by majority decided at this stage not to become an independent country', No campaigners celebrating, Darling announcing 'we have made a decision for progress and change, for Scotland and the United Kingdom. Come on Scotland, let's get on with it together.' Celebrating No Voters, upset Yes Voters. Sturgeon, 'it looks like it's not been quite enough and that's deeply disappointing. I've never fought a campaign as hard as this one in my entire life. Aerial of Edinburgh castle, gvs of people on street. Blair Jenkins soundbite 'we knew that in order to win we had to become a national movement, much bigger than party politics', Yes campaigners on Buchanan Street steps. Lesley Riddoch, 'an unimaginable dream…getting within weeks, months of that possibly being a reality, clip from debate (Darling v Salmond) Darling: 'of course we can use the pound!', Blair McDougall leaders' 'all conversations and focus groups would come back to fundamental questions about independence and the economy. And it all came back to the pound.' Johanne Lamont at No event 'by voting No, stand strong for the future of our country'. Ruth Davidson, 'people across Scotland are canny – they looked at the prospectus for change and there were too many holes.

Opening Title

Archive montage: final result announced in various areas and overall. Montage of images of polling booths, marches and debates from '79 & '97 referendums, election 2011 returns, landslide victory for SNP, Salmond on mandate, Cameron on referendum,

Alex Massie interview on result and the importance of collapse in Lib Dem vote.

Archive clip from Michael Portillo's interview with Darling in 2011. 'The Yes campaign will be led by Salmond. The No campaign will be led by who?' Darling, 'this isn't going to be a beauty contest'.

Archive clips from Yes campaign launch.

David Torrance interview on the launch being 'cobbled together' and full of anti-Tory rhetoric

Montage of shots from Yes launch

Lindsay McIntosh interview 'launch didn't feel forward looking'

Archive clip of Brian Cox speech at Yes launch

Brian Cox interview on his speech at Yes launch

Archive clip of 'Caledonia' playing at Yes launch

Archive clip of from No launch.

David Torrance interview on Alistair Darling's lacklustre speech

Archive clip of Alistair Darling's speech 'patriotism of the quiet majority'

Blair McDougall interview on Darling speech and consistency of campaign

Archive clip from Darling speech ‘we’re being asked to make this choice in the midst of the most uncertain and turbulent economic times we’ve seen in our lifetime.’

Blair McDougall interview ‘The frame for that economic risk was ‘the best of both worlds’ which was there from the very, very beginning… that was based on a lot of time and effort from our pollsters to properly understand where the electorate were but specifically where the undecided voters were because those were the people that we had an obsessive focus on throughout the two and a half years of the campaign.’

Archive clip of Patrick Harvie signing declaration at Yes launch

Patrick Harvie interview, talking about forming coalition for Yes

Archive clip of Better Together launch, Darling, Davidson, Lamont, Rennie together

Ruth Davidson interview on the Scottish Tory, Labour and Lib-Dem party leaders being seen together

Johann Lamont interview on campaigning with the Tories ‘absolutely clear it was the right thing to do’

Willie Rennie interview ‘it was quite energetic bringing three different political forces together’

Archive clip of Cameron and Salmond shaking hands at Edinburgh Agreement.

Lindsay McIntosh interview on Devo Max option being taken off the table by UK Government ‘it wasn’t an opportunity to negotiate some type of different devolution settlement’

Archive clip of Edinburgh Agreement, round table

John McTernan interview on Edinburgh Agreement ‘nauseating for any British person to watch…what you saw was David Cameron start off with a weak hand and make it even weaker’

Archive clip of signing Edinburgh Agreement

John McTernan interview on framing the Referendum question. ‘The SNP were allowed to frame the question, so they obviously loaded the question.’

Alex Massie interview ‘I don’t view the Edinburgh Agreement as a document of world historical importance... it was an agreement to have a referendum and to accept the result. That was it.’

Aerials of Holyrood

Archive clips from Holyrood, Salmond announcing date of referendum

Archive clip of launch of white paper, *Scotland’s Future*, at Science Centre.

Lindsay McIntosh interview on the white paper as a prospectus and an SNP manifesto.

Archive clip of Sturgeon and Salmond at white paper launch. Salmond, ‘that’s the most important thing about this referendum; it won’t be decided by me, it

won't be decided by our opponents, it won't be decided by the media (pause) it will be decided by the people. Scotland's future is now in Scotland's hands'.

Archive clip of white paper photo shoot

Alan Little interview on media scrutiny

Aerials of Edinburgh. V.O. currency a 'key area'

Archive clip of George Osborne's 'Sermon on the pound' announcing refusal to agree currency union

Iain Mcwhirter interview on Osborne 'not the most popular politician in Scotland, came to Edinburgh on a day trip'

Archive clip of Sermon on the Pound. Osborne: 'evidence shows it wouldn't work'

Iain Mcwhirter interview 'here was a clear threat: vote No or we'll do what we can to wreck the Scottish economy'

Archive clip of Sermon on the Pound. Osborne,'people need to know that is not going to happen.

Lindsay McIntosh interview on Nicholas Macpherson's role in Sermon on Pound. 'very unusual to produce a note from him. Created huge interest because it's not usual for a civil servant to go public'.

Archive clip of Macpherson and Osborne together at Select Committee

Lindsay McIntosh interview on Ed Balls and Danny Alexander following suit on currency

Archive clips of Alexander and Balls 'not going to happen… Scotland will not keep the pound'

Archive clip of Sturgeon's response, insisting the rhetoric would change if Scotland became independent

Archive clip of Scottish Labour with prop pound with Salmond's face. V.O. 'opposition to a currency union became a defining part of the unionist campaign'

Archive clip of Darling refusing currency union.

Iain Mcwhirter – 'economically illiterate, morally reprehensible, constitutionally irresponsible.

Aerials Hollyrood. V.O. 'Scots didn't take fright. There was in fact a boost in opinion polls'

Blair McDougall interview 'all conversations and focus groups would come back to fundamental questions of independence and what it would mean for the economy, and they all led back to currency'

Blair Jenkins interview, the way it seemed to play on the doorsteps as far as I could tell, was up until that point a lot of people who would instinctively or immediately say to you, I'm voting no, couldn't really give you a reason. They would just say 'I don't think we're ready or we couldn't really do it' and couldn't go beyond that. And what you found after the currency intervention was a typical doorstep response from somebody who was telling you they were

going to vote no was ‘well, you know, we’ve no idea what currency we’d be using’.

Aerials,

Archive clip of cash point.

Montage of ‘risks’: Alistair Carmichael on risks to shipbuilding and Clyde economy, oil exec on oil running out, Danny Alexander on oil revenues, Phillip Hammond on defence, Danny Alexander on pensions, clip of Sturgeon with oaps, Darling on EU membership

Archive clip of campaigners filling envelopes. VO ‘project fear’

Johanne Lamont interview, ‘asking tough questions about different propositions is entirely reasonable.

Alan Little interview on project fear. ‘I don’t think they thought they were being difficult’

Archive clip of Independence march in Edinburgh. V.O. ‘what grew up from the ground would become a defining feature of the campaign’

Archive clip from townhall meeting speaker ‘The UK is not OK’

Montage: Yes HQ, Yes campaigners on the doors, townhall meeting, badges

Blair Jenkins interview, ‘we knew that if we wanted to win, we genuinely had to become a national movement’

Alan Bissett interview ‘it was the most incredibly exciting thing I’ve been involved in my entire life… a feeling that the Scottish people were waking up… suddenly thirsty for ideas about how to change the country’

Archive clip of townhall meeting

Lesley Riddoch interview on older people at town hall meetings ‘this has been an unimaginable dream’.

Archive clips of Radical Independence Campaign & Women for Independence

Jeane Freeman interview on women in politics, ‘we knew that official politics, party politics, disengaged women because it’s shouty and refuse to recognise they have any ground of agreement’.

Archive clip of Women for Independence listening exercise meeting

Clip of Better Together letter stuffers

Blair McDougall interview on Better Together campaign and analysis of data on undecided voters. ‘we were going door by door talking to those people one by one. They were filling meeting halls with people who already agreed with them’

Archive clip of Better Together photo shoot for more powers

Ruth Davidson on devolution of income tax

Johanne Lamont interview on establishing devolution commission and producing a report

Willie Rennie interview on Lib Dems making proposals for more powers two years before campaign

Campaign celebrity endorsement montage: Dan Snow love letter to Scotland, Yes campaign video Yes cards, Archie McPherson, Eddie Izzard, JK Rowling, Vote Yes promo, Alan Cumming, Kate Moss for David Bowie, John Barrowman, Let's Stay Together video, 'love bombing'

Brian Cox interview on the love bombing being patronising

Archive clip of people on streets

Patrick Harvie interview on social media and cyber bullying

Blair McDougall interview about online conduct

Patrick Harvie interview on intelligent debate being the dominant aspect – 'Scotland should be proud of the debate that took place.'

Archive clip of BBC crew setting up for leaders' debate in Kelvingrove Museum

Archive clip of Bella Caledonia website

Mike Small interview on Bella Caledonia – gap in Scottish news and culture

Archive clip of *Reporting Scotland* ident

Mike Small interview on citizen journalism 'participatory citizenship'

Archive clip from Yes Scotland W*hich Future'* promo

Archive clip from Better Together students promo

Yes Scotland and Better Together posters

Archive clip of Jackie Bird on Rep Scot,

Archive clip of Herald building – accusations of media bias

Richard Walker interview 'not particularly good for democracy that no newspaper in Scotland supported independence.'

Front page of Sunday Herald YES

Archive clip from demo outside BBC. V.O. 'BBC came under attack from Yes campaigners for its coverage.

Jeanne Freeman interview on gladiatorial debates – 'don't allow discussion, they allow point scoring… I think broadcast media that is generated from London doesn't understand what has happened to Scotland since 2000'

Lesley Riddoch interview on balance 'nowhere near as many meetings on the No side as on the Yes side, but the BBC was required to show balance, so if it showed a whole bunch of energetic, enthusiastic people on the Yes side, it had to find energetic enthusiastic people on the No side to be able to show anything at all. Is that balance when there isn't an equivalence in the effort?'

Archive clip from STV *Leaders' Debate* - currency union fight

Lindsay McIntosh interview on Darling focusing in on 'plan B' on currency

Blair McDougall interview on debate 'it became apparent that Alistair had had 3 wheetabix for breakfast'

Archive clip of Darling being gladiatorial on currency

Alex Massie interview, currency question damaged Salmond's reputation.

Blair McDougall interview 'it brought out the shy nos who suddenly felt they had permission to come up and say well done'.

Archive clip aerial Forth bridge

NHS montage: Holyrood debating chamber, Sturgeon, Findlay in chambers 'focus on day job'

Oil montage: *Reporting Scotland* intro on dwindling reserves in the North sea, Lamont in chambers 'Salmond is the man without a plan', Salmond 'this poor benighted country, visited with the great curse of 50billion barrels of oil', oil expert stating that he wants to retain the status quo 'international companies will work with the biggest economic unit they can work with, and that is the UK', oil expert on seeking full benefit for Scotland

Archive clip of Scotland Decides logo for BBC *Leaders' Debate*

Archive clip of *Leaders' Debate* currency argument

Alan Little interview 'I'm not sure how much those two-minute set pieces made much of a difference because across the country at a grassroots level the debate was very different… it was people listening to each other and being swayed'

Archive clip from *Leaders' Debate* – Salmond on pound

Johanne Lamont interview on debates 'the box set of FM question time'

Archive clip from *Leaders' Debate* – Salmond to Darling 'name 3 powers'

Blair McDougall interview on the 2 debates & scoring a draw across them

Blair Jenkins interview on debates 'it was good for morale, sense of energy to get back out there'

Archive clip of Jim Murphy being egged & being interviewed

Archive clip of Yes Scotland Official responding to claims

Archive clip of YouGov poll gives Yes campaign lead.

Archive clip from Alan Little report for Rep Scot – graph showing Yes at 47%

Blair Jenkins interview 'I was pretty sure that at some point the polls would reflect the reality on the ground.'

Blair McDougall interview 'on one level it was good because it shook any last sense of complacency from people… what the poll enabled us to do was to say to people there's no such thing as a protest vote'

Blair Jenkins interview on direction of travel 'it certainly triggered a response from the Westminster establishment'

Archive clip of Osborne on more powers

Ruth Davidson interview on more powers

Archive clip from BBC News 24 item about sterling drop

Alan Little interview on Westminster panic 'complacency about it being a foregone conclusion'

Archive clip of *Reporting Scotland* on Cameron, Clegg and Miliband coming to Scotland

Archive clip of Cameron 'fed up with the effing Tories'

Archive clip of Brown speech 'Scotland is already a nation'

Alan Little interview on Brown

Archive clip Brown on boosting Scotland's powers

Willie Rennie interview on Brown's speech 'you needed that drama'

Johanne Lamont interview on Brown's speech 'it was sensational'

Alan Little interview on Brown's speech 'he understood months ago that the union could be lost by mistake… he saw that labour voters were drifting away. The rest of them were in denial about it'

Montage: Asda, John Lewis, Nick Robertson on Lloyds, Darling, Alexander, Robertson on RBS moving headquarters. V.O. 'over the following days there was a barrage of negative stories'

Blair McDougall interview 'companies are allergic to politics'

Blair Jenkins interview on heavy threats & warnings and simultaneous offer of more powers

Archive clip of rickshaw driver following 100 Labour MPs arriving in Glasgow, shouting 'bow down to your imperial masters'

Archive clip Orange Order march

Archive clips of Yes campaigners

Archive clip of Cameron 'vote to save our United Kingdom'

Archive clip from BBC News 24 reporter analysing Vow cover of the Daily Record

Archive clip of Salmond speaking to filled hall 'we are still the underdogs in this campaign. Each and every one of us has a job tomorrow.'

Montage: polling places, counting votes, press, Sturgeon, parties

Blair Jenkins – 'you could tell it was unlikely to be yes after the first 4 or 5 returns'

Archive clip of result announced

Blair McDougall interview on result

Archive clip of final result 'it is clear that the majority of the people voting, have voted no to the referendum question.

Blair Jenkins interview 'we felt that we'd got just about everything right.'

Willie Rennie interview 'such a relief for it to be over… wasn't any great joy… It was never joy, more relief'.

Ruth Davidson interview 'I thought I'd have waves of euphoria and joy that I'd saved the Union and actually I didn't. I felt tired, I felt relief… it didn't feel like what I thought it would feel like.'

Archive clip of people on the street. V.O: ‘55%of voters backed the Union. What persuaded them to reject independence

Alex Massie interview ‘The SNP started out with a 3-step process. They had to persuade Scots that Scotland could be independent. That it should be independent. And that it must be independent’.

Archive clip of Salmond and Cameron shaking hands.

Blair Jenkins interview ‘there was a promise that something akin to Devo Max would be delivered if there were a No vote, I think was enough to switch some people’.

Archive clip of Gordon Brown giving speech

Ruth Davidson interview ‘I think people across Scotland are canny and I think that they looked at the prospectus on offer for change and there were too many holes in it’.

Archive clip of crowds in George Square. V.O.’ ‘the political ramifications are enormous and ongoing’.

Blair Jenkins interview ‘I think people are energised and engaged and they want to keep this going’.

Archive clip of crowds waving Saltire flags in George Square

Johann Lamont interview‘this is not an end point it is a stage in political activity’ I hope it doesn’t become that we have a narrative for the next two years of oh if only you’d listened to us’.

Ruth Davidson interview ‘Scotland is staying in the United Kingdom. I’m pleased about that, but we may have won the war, but we’ve got an awful lot of peace to build in terms of more powers. There’s a lot of hard work. It doesn’t stop’.

Brian Cox interview ‘this isn’t going to stop. We will go on. It’ll happen. Not in my lifetime. But it will happen’

Alan Little interivew ‘I wonder what will bind future generations of Scottish people into the Union that’s positive. Because I think an awful lot of people. An awful lot of the 55% of the people who voted No voted essentially out of fearfulness, out of fear of the alternative rather than a sense of ownership of this joint project’.

Archive clip of aerial of Union Jack flag. V.O. ‘this campaign is over, the Union remains. But the battle over Scotland’s future looks set to continue’.

END CREDITS

Appendix 4

List of documentaries produced by Referendum Unit in order of transmission.

(Only shown in Scotland but available on iPlayer for a limited period)

Our Friends in the North (BBC2, 25/11/13) Prod/Dir Craig Williams

Journalist Allan Little investigates whether the Nordic economic model can be applied to Scotland.

(this programme was made and broadcast before the Referendum Unit was set up, but was later included in the Referendum Collection on BBC iPlayer.

**Scotland's Smoking Gun* (BBC2, 28/01/14) Prod/Dir Mick Morton

How did Scotland reach the point where we will soon be holding a referendum?

Five Million Ways to Be Scottish (BBC2, 04/02/14) Prod/Dir Stephen Magee

Broadcaster Stuart Cosgrove asks what it means to be Scottish.

Scotland's Top Ten Battlegrounds (BBC2, 11/02/14) Prod/Dir Eamon T. O'Connor

Results of the BBC's poll ranking the ten most important issues in the referendum.

**Referendum Connections (BBC1, 09/04/14)* *Prod/Dir Brendan O'Hara*

A look at the early careers of politicians involved in the referendum.

What Women Want (BBC2, 22/04/14) Prod/Dir Craig Williams

Jackie Bird investigates the reasons for the apparent gender gap in the campaign.

Blethering Referendum Part 1 (BBC1, 05/05/14) Prod/Dir Eric Haynes.

Comedian Sanjeev Kohli takes a humorous look at the referendum. Made for the BBC by Finestripe Productions.

Blethering Referendum Part 2 (BBC1, 12/05/14) Prod/Dir Eric Haynes.

Comedian Sanjeev Kohli takes a humorous look at the referendum. Made for the BBC by Finestripe Productions.

Janet's Scotland (BBC2, 10/06/14) Prod/Dir Geoff Small

Broadcaster Janet Street-Porter visits Scotland to find out more about the referendum

The Games People Play (BBC2, 22/07/14) Prod/Dir Eamon T. O Connor

Sportsman John Beattie investigates the potential of the Commonwealth Games to influence voting in the referendum.

Mind Games (BBC2, 19/08/14) Prod/Dir Brendan O'Hara

A look at the psychological techniques used by both campaign groups.

What's In It For Me? (BBC2, 28/08/14) Prod/Dir Ciaran Tracey

Laura Kuenssberg investigates how the outcome of the referendum might affect the public financially.

Mibbes Aye Mibbes Naw (BBC1) Prod/Dir Alison Pinkney

Following voters over six months as they make up their mind about the vote.

**How the Campaign Was Won* (BBC1, 01/10/14) Prod/Dir Craig Williams

Roundup of highlights of the campaign.

*These titles were classed by the Referendum Unit as archive programmes, predominantly made up of BBC television archive. All the other programmes also included an element of archive material.

Other programmes made by BBC Scotland about the referendum campaign.

(Only shown in Scotland but available on iPlayer for a limited period.)

*Rathad an Referendum (*BBC Alba*)*

Gaelic language documentary about Scotland's journey to referendum.

Scotland 2014

Scottish news and current affairs series

Generation 2014

The story of 50 young people who will be voting for the first time in the referendum.

What's Funny About the Indyref?

Sketch show about the referendum written by young writers aged 16-25.

Being Sixteen in 2014

A look at Scotland's 16 and 17 year olds and their right to vote in the referendum.

10 debate shows, including:

Victoria Derbyshire Debate

Victoria hosts a debate in Perth with an audience of 250 voters.

The Leaders' Debate

Live debate between Alex Salmond and Alistair Darling.

The Big, Big Debate

An audience of 16 and 17 year olds quiz key politicians about referendum issues

Scotland Decides (18/09/14)

Live results programme broadcast throughout the night of 18th and morning of 19th September 2014

Appendix 5

Specialist TV programmes made by BBC network about the referendum, shown across the UK on BBC1 or BBC2.

(These programmes were shown across the network and were available on iPlayer for a limited period)

Scotland: For Richer or Poorer? (BBC2, 07/07/2014) Prod/Dir Adam Grimley

Robert Peston asks if Scotland would be richer or poorer as an independent nation.

*Scotland Votes: What's at Stake for the UK? (*BBC2, 12/08/14) Prod/Dir Judith Ahern

Andrew Neil explores what an independent Scotland would mean for the rest of the UK.

Results show broadcast live across the UK (BBC1 18/09/14)

Appendix 6

List of BBC archives and archive research tools[201]

BBC Archive Centre at Perivale

Radio and TV physical archive.

Written Archives Centre at Caversham

Archive of the working papers of the BBC.

Archive Search

A single user interface into multiple archive repositories, including those that hold essence files (TV programmes and radio) and just metadata only. You don't need to be on a BBC network to access this system. Archive Search is available to public service colleagues, BBC Studios and Indies who are making programmes for the BBC and have their access sponsored. Archive Search is a search tool, not a digital archive. It holds browse preview files so that users can browse clips, but it is not an archive repository. The number of systems which can be accessed for searches via Archive Search will continue to expand to include Radio Digital Archive and probably J-Library. Later in the year BBC Archive Services will be launching functionality that will allow ends users to clip high res content from the Digital Archive through Archive Search.

BBC Digital Archive.

Covers network TV content, ranging from what was transmitted last night to legacy archive that is being ingested from the archives store in Perivale. This is the high res archive – content is archived over 3 geographically resilient digital tape stores with the third copy being physically ejected and stored offsite. There is an automated data feed, and as with Archive Search its available to programme makers working on BBC commissions including BBC studios and

[201]Confirmed by BBC Archive Services

indies. You don't need to be on a BBC network to access this system. There are almost 400k assets in the system, and over 80% of network TV archive requests are fulfilled via the Digital Archive. BBC Wales have digitised their entire SD collection and ingested it into the Digital Archive as part of their move to the new building.

Radio Digital Archive

BBC radio archive.

BBC Scotland Digital Library

Version of the Viz1 Media Asset Management System, bought off the shelf and customized by the Media Management team.

BBC Wales Archive.

BBC wales have digitised their archive prior to the move into the new building. TV content lives in the Digital Archive, and radio is in the Radio Digital Archive. BBC Wales has a deposit agreement with the National Library of Wales to deposit all their physical assets with them.

BBC NI Chronicle Archive

BBC NI Legacy Archive

BBC NI shared library

Elvis

BBC photographic library. Digital archive.

Fabric

The archive and library catalogue of the BBC's radio and TV content. It covers a breadth and depth of descriptive data about BBC archive holdings as well as physical holdings. The BBC plans to retire Fabric before the end of this year.

INFAX

Text database. All of the INFAX data was ported into Fabric and this is now a non-supported system that is not given to new users. It stopped being a fully supported system in 2012 and has deliberately not been updated since then.

Genome

A public window into BBC Radio Times archive data and some browse holdings.

J-library

BBC news archive

Jupiter / Davina

The web front end of J-library

BBC Sports Archive

Redux

Off-air archive. Access to this is only for programme makers creating content for the BBC or if specific agreements are in place such as with the BFI or educational institutions.

Access for Redux, Archive Search and Digital Archive all via
https://archiveservices.tools.bbc.co.uk/

Filmography

A Boy in Harris 1966 [TV] dir: Finlay J Macdonald, UK, BBC Scotland

A Choice of Two Futures 2014 [short film], UK, Yes Scotland

A Year with the Queen, 2007 [TV], dir: Matt Reid, UK, RDF/BBC

BBC Breakfast, 2000-onwards [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC

BBC News 2014 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC

Being 16 in 2014 2014 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

Cathy Come Home [TV] dir: Ken Loach, UK, BBC

Doctor Finlay's Casebook 1962-1971 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

Five Million Ways to Be Scottish, 2014 [TV] dir:Stephen Magee, UK, BBC Scotland

From Scotland with Love 2014 [film] dir: Virginia Heath, UK, Creative Scotland/BBC Scotland

Generation 2014 2014 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

Glasgow: This is My Story 1966 [TV] dir: Finlay J Macdonald, UK, BBC Scotland

Gregory's Girl 1981 [Film] dir: Bill Forsyth, UK, Scottish Television/National Film Finance Corporation

Happening for Lulu (aka Lulu) 1968-1969 [TV] dir: Stanley Dorfman, UK, BBC

How the Campaign Was Won 2014 [TV] dir: Craig Williams, UK, BBC Scotland

Let Glasgow Flourish 1952 [Film] UK, Dawn Cine Group

Lost Treasures 1956 [film] UK, Dawn Cine Group

Mibbes Aye Mibbes Naw 2014 [TV] dir: Alison Pinkney, UK, BBC Scotland

Midweek 1974 [TV], UK, BBC Scotland

Newsnight Special 2011 [TV], UK, BBC Scotland

Newsnight Scotland 2000-onwards [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

Our Friends in the North 2013 [TV] dir: Craig Williams, UK, BBC Scotland

Outlander 2014- [TV] dirs: various, USA/UK, Sony Pictures

Rab C Nesbitt 1988-2014 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

Reporting Scotland 1968- present [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

Scotch on the Rocks 1973 [TV], dir: Bob Hurd, UK, BBC

Scotland 2014 2104 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

Scotland Decides 2014 [TV] UK, BBC Scotland

Scotland: For Richer or Poorer? 2014 [TV] dir: Adam Grimley, UK, BBC

Scotland's Home Movies 2015 [TV] dir: Matt Pinder, UK, BBC Scotland

Scotland on Film 2007 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

Scotland's Smoking Gun 2014 [TV] dir: Mick Morton, UK, BBC Scotland

Scotland Tonight 2011-onwards [TV] dirs: various, UK, STV

Scotland's Top Ten Battlegrounds 2014 [TV] dir: Eamon T. O Connor, UK, BBC Scotland

Scotland Votes: What's at Stake for the UK? 2014, [TV], dir: Judith Ahern, UK, BBC

STV News at Six, 2009-onwards [TV] dirs: various, UK, STV

The Big, Big Debate 2014 [TV] UK, BBC Scotland

'The Cheviot, the Stag, and the Black, Black Oil', *Play for Today* 1974 [TV], dir: John Mackenzie, UK, 7:84/BBC Scotland

The Leaders' Debate 2014 [TV] UK, STV

The Leaders' Debate 2014 [TV] UK, BBC Scotland

The Nine 2019-present [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

The Road to Referendum 2013 [TV] dir: Brendan O'Hara, UK, STV

The Rock 'n' Roll Years 1985-1994 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC

The Stanley Baxter Show 1963-1972 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

The Thatcher Interview 1990 [TV], UK, BBC Scotland

The Tube 1982-1987 [TV] dirs: various, UK, Channel 4

The Wednesday Play 1964 – 1970 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC

The White Heather Club 1958-68 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

The Woman Who Made Up Her Mind 2014 [short film] UK, Better Together

Top of the Pops 1964-2019 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC Scotland

What's In It For Me? 2014 [TV] dir: Ciaran Tracey, UK, BBC Scotland

Whicker's World 1959-1994 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC

Why We Are Better Together 2014 [short film]. UK, Better Together

Wisconsin Death Trip 1990 [Film] dir: John Marsh, USA

Yes/No: Inside the Indyref 2019 [TV] dir Paul Mitchell, UK, STV Productions for BBC Scotland

Z Cars 1962-1978 [TV] dirs: various, UK, BBC

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